

The Metropolitan Museum  
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INSCRIBED  
HADRA VASES

IN THE METROPOLITAN  
MUSEUM OF ART

Brian F. Cook

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ELBERT ELI FARMAN (1831-1911)

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BRIAN F. COOK

Papers No. 12

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# PREFACE

THE COLLECTION of Hadra vases acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1890 was the largest outside of Egypt itself, and is still the richest in the dated inscriptions that have made this class of vases the subject of so much epigraphical and historical research in the last eighty years. Most of the inscriptions were first published by A. C. Merriam in the first issue of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (January 1885); a few were published independently by Tassos Neroutsos in the *Revue archéologique* for July–August 1887. Almost all of the numerous studies since then have been dependent for the readings on these two, neither complete nor wholly accurate. Three additional inscriptions were published by Blanche R. Brown in *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics* (1957), since they were on vases that had been thought to come from the so-called “Soldiers’ Tomb” along with the Museum’s six painted limestone stelai, the study of which formed the kernel of her book. She also made use of previously unpublished documents in the Museum’s archives to clear up a number of misconceptions concerning the Hadra vases, the stelai, and the Soldiers’ Tomb itself. The present study began with a reinstallation of the vases from Alexandria, entailing the selection and cleaning of those to be exhibited, the removal of alien members, and the provision of new labels embodying the results of the more recent studies. The republication of the inscriptions was prompted by the fact that very few of them had been published in photographic or facsimile form. A close examination of the vases disclosed five new inscriptions (in addition to one that was noted in the card catalogue but not previously published) and led to several emendations of the previous readings, including two in which the names were changed. As the work progressed, a new study of the documents relating to the acquisition of the vases and the discovery of the Museum’s painted stelai convinced me that none of these objects had in fact been found in the Soldiers’ Tomb. The evidence supporting this conclusion is discussed in detail below (pp. 15–18).

I should like to thank the many friends and colleagues who have helped me in various ways. Dietrich von Bothmer encouraged the work from the beginning, read the manuscript several times, and gave me the benefit of his wide knowledge of collections, both public and private, and of sale catalogues. The text profited from being read by Andrew Oliver, Jr., by Joseph V. Noble, and especially by Mrs. Brown, who had continued working on the Farman collection after the publication of her book, and who generously allowed me to make use of her notes and photographs. Mrs. Brown now accepts the distinction between the Soldiers’ Tomb and the tomb in which the Museum’s painted stelai are said to have been found. Miss Iris C. Love and J. Eisenberg of New York allowed me to study Hadra vases in their possession. I was permitted to study vases in collections abroad and given help on the question of provenances and other matters by Mme. S. Karouzou, Miss B. Philippaki, Dr. S. Alexiou, Dr. G. Constantino-poulos, Prof. P. Devambez, Prof. U. Hausmann, Dr. V. Karageorghis, Prof. R. Lullies, Prof. O. Masson, and Prof. Homer Thompson. Members of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum who helped in various ways include the late Murray Pease, Conservator; Adelaide A. Cahill, Assistant for Archives; Hale Gabrielson, Secretary in the Greek and Roman Department; Kate C. Lefferts, Assistant Conservator; James Humphry III, Chief Librarian; William E. Lyall, Senior Photographer; and William F. Pons, Manager, Photo Studio.

My special thanks are due to Colonel Elbert E. Farman, who not only allowed me to study the vases he inherited from his father, Judge Elbert E. Farman, but also made it possible to use his father’s portrait as the frontispiece of this catalogue. All of the Museum’s Hadra vases were once in Judge Farman’s collection, and the catalogue is respectfully dedicated to his memory.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- AA* *Archäologischer Anzeiger*  
*AJA* *American Journal of Archaeology*  
*AM* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*  
*APF* *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*  
*B. Arch. Alex.* *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*  
*BCH* *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*  
*BphW* *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*  
*Breccia, Iscrizioni* E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie*) (1911)  
*Breccia, Sciatbi* E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie*) (1912)  
*Brown, PPM* B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics* (1957)  
*Cat.* *Catalogue*  
*CVA* *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*  
*Edgar, Greek Vases* C. C. Edgar, *Greek Vases* (*Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*) (1911)  
*GGA* *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*  
*Guerrini, Vasi di Hadra* L. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra, Tentativo di sistemazione cronologica di una classe ceramica* (*Seminario di archeologia e storia dell' arte greca e romana dell' Università di Roma. Studi Miscellanei* 8 [1964])  
*IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*  
*JdI* *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*  
*JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*  
*JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies*  
*Launey, Armées hellénistiques* M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 169 [1949 and 1951])  
*Mon. Piot* *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires*  
*OGIS* W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae* (1903–1905)  
*RA* *Revue archéologique*  
*REA* *Revue des études anciennes*  
*REG* *Revue des études grecques*  
*Rh. M.* *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*  
*Richter, Handbook* G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*  
*Richter, Handbook GC* G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (1953)  
*RM* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung*  
*SB* F. Preisigke, et al., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*  
*SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*  
*Sieglin I* *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin I* (T. Schreiber, *Die Nekropole von Kôm-esch-Schukâfa*)  
*Sieglin II, 3* *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin II, 3* (R. Pagentecher, *Die Gefässe in Stein und Ton*)  
*Swindler, AP* M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting* (1929)

# INTRODUCTION

## Hadra Vases

Hadra vases<sup>1</sup> take their name from the ancient cemetery east of Alexandria where, in 1883–1884, they were first found in great quantity.<sup>2</sup> Since then large numbers of them have also been found in the Chatby (spelled Sciatbi in Italian) and Ibrahimieh cemeteries, east of Alexandria, while others have

come to light in the western necropolis of the city. Relatively few have been found away from Alexandria,<sup>3</sup> and it is evident that the vases are of local Alexandrian manufacture. The term “Hadra vases” did not come into use until about 1908, but interest in this type of vase dates from 1885, when A. C.

1. The literature of Hadra vases is very extensive; for bibliographies see: R. Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) p. 388, note 1 and in *B. Arch. Alex.* 14 (1912) p. 229, note 4; C. Picard in *B. Arch. Alex.* 32 (1938) p. 5, note 1; A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung* (1953) (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 6, *Handbuch der Archäologie* 4, 1) p. 154, note 1; A. Di Vita in *Bollettino d'Arte* ser. 4, 41 (1956) p. 103, note 26. For two Hadra vases in Munich, and for a discussion of the ornament below the back handle see: P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* p. 22 and pl. 3.

2. Pagenstecher, “Dated Sepulchral Vases from Alexandria” in *AJA* 13 (1909) p. 389. For the inscribed vases from that find see: Neroutsos in *RA* 10 (1887, 2) pp. 61 ff. (= *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* [1888] pp. 110 ff.) nos. 32–43; Neroutsos dates the find in 1883 and 1884, *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* p. 81.

3. Hadra vases have been found in Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, Athens, Eretria, South Russia, Turkey, and perhaps in Cyrenaica, Italy, and Thera.

### CRETE

Heraklion 4949, from Phaistos. A. Mosso, *Escursioni nel Mediterraneo e gli scavi di Creta* (1907) p. 16, fig. 9 a. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 18 and pl. 7, Group E, 9.

Heraklion 4950, from Phaistos. Mosso, *op. cit.* p. 17, fig. 9 b. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 18 and pl. 7, Group E, 3.

Heraklion, from Gortyn. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 18 and pl. 7, Group E, 7.

Heraklion, from Itanos. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 9, Group F, 17.

Heraklion (ex Giamalakias 485), said to be from Hierapetra.

Athens 2276, from Selinou.

All six are clay-ground hydriai.

### RHODES

Rhodes BE 1744, from Rhodes (south necropolis). *Deltion* 18 (1963) part 2, 2 (*Chronika*) p. 325 and pl. 375 a. Clay-ground. Copenhagen 6456. *CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 183, 2. Clay-ground.

Rhodes 13967, from Pontamo. *Clara Rhodos* II pp. 159 ff., fig. 43. White-ground.

Rhodes BE 1949. Newly excavated; to be published by G. Constantinopoulos. White-ground.

Copenhagen 6509, from Monolithos. *CVA* fasc. 4, pl. 184, 6. White-ground.

Rhodes, from near Camiros. *Bollettino d'Arte* 1915, p. 298. White-ground.

The white-ground vases are not necessarily imported from Alexandria. In the Museum of Rhodes there are more than a hundred hydriai of the same shape as the white-ground Hadra vases but with only a thin coating of the white ground, which has in many cases disappeared or almost disappeared, over a rather yellow clay body of smooth texture that seems identical with that of Rhodian wine amphorae. It seems likely that there was a local workshop that imitated Hadra vases. Copenhagen 6456 is an unusual shape for a clay-ground Hadra vase and may also be of Rhodian manufacture. Rhodes BE 1744 appears to be an Alexandrian import.

### CYPRUS

Nicosia D 715, from Curium. J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* no. 2051. *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, 3, fig. 25, 3, and pp. 61 and 77, note 4.

Nicosia D 707. *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, 3, p. 77, note 4 (the number given by mistake as B 67).

Brussels A 13, from Arsinoe (Marion). *CVA* I B and III N pl. 3, 2; to the bibliography add: E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (1940) p. 259, fig. 275. O. Masson, *Inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (1961) p. 163, no. 130, pl. 17, 1. J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (1964) p. 241, fig. 224 (wrongly stated to be from Arsinoe in Egypt). Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 10 and pl. 1, Group A, 15. The Cypriot syllabic inscription was incised after firing, *pace* Tubbs in *JHS* 11 (1890) p. 79, note 1. (This information I owe to Dietrich von Bothmer, who kindly looked at the vase for me in 1964.)

Once London, Lawrence-Cesnola collection. Alexander P. di Cesnola, *Salamina* p. 258, fig. 248.

All four are clay-ground hydriai.

### ATHENS

Agora P 6313. *Illustrated London News* October 19, 1935, p. 648, fig. 3. *Hesperia* 5 (1936) p. 37, fig. 37. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 10 and pl. 1, Group A, 3.

Agora P 7194. *Hesperia* 6 (1937) p. 375, fig. 40. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 10 and pl. 1, Group A, 10.

Both of these are clay-ground hydriai. (The hydria published in *Hesperia* 26 [1957] pl. 87 g is from Hadra, not from Athens, *pace* E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* p. 158, note 229).

### EREτρια

Athens 12126. Clay-ground. *AM* 38 (1913) p. 328, fig. 13.

*continued next page*



Merriam published a large collection of them that had appeared on the New York market in the previous year.<sup>4</sup> It included representative examples of the various types of Hadra vases, and was particularly rich in inscriptions. On the basis of the inscriptions Merriam dated some of the vases to the second half of the third century B.C. Subsequent researches and excavations have confirmed that Hadra vases were indeed made throughout this period, though the dates Merriam assigned to individual vases have been subject to revision. The class as a whole is now generally considered to begin shortly before the end of the fourth and to continue into the early second century B.C.<sup>5</sup>

Particular attention has been focused on the chronology of a relatively small number of Hadra

vases, of which the inscriptions include not only the name of the deceased but also the regnal year, and sometimes even the month and day, of his death or burial. Controversy has raged over the absolute chronology of these vases since the name of the reigning Ptolemy is in no case included with the regnal year. To take one example, the hydria inscribed with the name of Sotion, the son of Kleon of Delphi,<sup>6</sup> has been dated in the reigns of three different Ptolemies: Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) [Pomtow, Breccia], Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.) [Merriam, Neroutsos, Pagenstecher], and Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 B.C.) [Boesch, Beloch, Braunert]. Braunert's absolute chronology for the twenty-six dated vases known to him is now generally accepted.<sup>7</sup> The series begins in 259/258,

note 3 continued

#### SOUTH RUSSIA

Olbia inv. III/2992, from Olbia. E. von Stern, "Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Keramik" in *Zapiski Odesskoe Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostei* 28 (1910) p. 181, pl. 3, 5.

Olbia inv. III/3700, from Olbia. E. von Stern, *op. cit.* pp. 181 ff., pl. 4, 6.

Munich 6105 (ex Vogell). J. Bochlau, *Griechische Altertümer südrussischen Fundorts aus dem Besitze des Herrn A. Vogell (Cat. Max Cramer, 26–30 Mai 1908)* no. 395, pl. 5, 8. P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* pl. 3 a.

Cassel T 496 (ex Vogell). Bochlau, *op. cit.* no. 396, pl. 5, 12.

All four are clay-ground hydriai.

#### TURKEY

Adana 2219. E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* p. 158, note 229.

(?) Istanbul market (1964). (Provenance uncertain, not even certainly a Hadra vase; known to me only by hearsay.)

#### CYRENAICA(?)

Athens 2284, "from Egypt or Cyrene." Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 10, pls. 1 and 12, Group A, 8.

Athens 2285, "from Egypt or Cyrene."

On the two vases in Athens, both of which are clay-ground hydriai, the entry in the inventory of the National Museum is not definitive. (I owe the information on the provenance of these and the other Hadra vases in the National Museum to Miss B. Philippaki.)

The hydria Alexandria 18235, perhaps from Cyrenaica (*SB* 650, whence E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* p. 158, note 229) is not a Hadra vase but a black-glazed ribbed hydria with reliefs on the shoulder; see Breccia's descriptions in *B. Arch. Alex.* 12 (1910) p. 92, no. 4 and *Iscrizioni* no. 228. For the type see below, p. 9, note 10.

I have not seen the following, and cannot be certain that they are of Alexandrian manufacture.

#### ITALY(?)

Adolphseck, Landgraf Philipp of Hesse, 247. *CVA* fasc. 2, pl. 94, 6. Acquired in Rome. Published by Brommer as Apulian, fourth century B.C.

#### THERA

Thera, from Thera, Grave 33. *Thera II* (H. Dragendorff, *Theraische Graber*) p. 40, fig. 126.

4. "Inscribed sepulchral vases from Alexandria" in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) pp. 18 ff. and pl. 1.

5. For the general chronology of Hadra vases see: Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) pp. 390 and 405, and Sieglin II, 3, p. 52; Breccia, *Iscrizioni* p. xiv, *Sciatbi* p. 27, and *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914) p. 236; (1922) p. 222. Cf. Picard in *B. Arch. Alex.* 32 (1938) p. 8, note 1, and Brown, *PPM* p. 9, note 20 for summaries of the above. For the upper limit see also A. Di Vita "Un Nuovo vaso della necropoli allessandrina di Hadra" in *Bollettino d'Arte* ser. 4, 41 (1956) p. 100; Di Vita doubts the extension of the lower limit into the second century, *ibid.*, pp. 102–103, note 34. L. Guerrini (*Vasi di Hadra. Tentativo di sistemazione cronologica di una classe ceramica*) assigns six "Groups" of Hadra vases to a period extending from the last quarter of the fourth century to about the end of the third; the attributions to "Groups" and the individual dates should be treated with caution.

6. New York 90.9.37 (G.R. 663); for references to the individual publications, see below, p. 25, no. 10.

7. "Auswärtige Gäste am Ptolemäerhofe" in *JdI* 65/66 (1950–1951) pp. 231 ff. Apart from the dated hydriai in New York I have actually seen only those in Athens. Nicole (*Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes, Supplément* [Paris, 1911] p. 311) notes "une trentaine d'hydries du type dit de 'Hadra'"; there are actually twenty-five Hadra vases (all clay-ground, including one stamos), of which three are dated:

Athens 2565 (Braunert, *loc. cit.* no. 12. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 18 and pl. 7, Group E, 2.). The inscription is incomplete and very faint, so that it seems impossible to improve the previous readings; the year, however, is comparatively clear, and the reading  $\eta\theta'$  is certain.

Athens 2567 (Braunert, *loc. cit.* no. 11. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 18 and pl. 7, Group E, 1). [ $\Lambda$ ]  $\eta\theta'$  Περτίου ια' | [ $\delta$ ια] Σ' ἀπαρίωνος | ρ- - - Μένωνος | [ $K$ ]υρηνίου | [ $\pi$ ρε]σβε[υ] της. Of the day of the month Pagenstecher (*AJA* 13 [1909] p. 406, no. 2) read only the iota and the lower part of the first oblique

toward the end of the reign of Philadelphus, runs through the reign of Euergetes, and ends in 212 during the reign of Philopator. Three additional dated hydriai, added to Braunert's list by Fraser,<sup>8</sup> include two that extend these chronological limits. A hydria in the Michaelides collection in Cairo, which must be dated early for palaeographical reasons, extends the upper limit. The regnal year is 15, and probably refers to 271 B.C. (the fifteenth year of Philadelphus). At the lower end of the list stands a hydria in Oxford dating from the thirteenth regnal year, probably of Philopator, 210/209 B.C. The third hydria published by Fraser falls in 215/214, the eighth year of Philopator. One of the hydriai in the earlier lists of dated vases must be withdrawn since the regnal year rests on a conjectural reading that I am unable to confirm on the vase.<sup>9</sup> As a result of this deletion and Fraser's three additions the number of Hadra vases now known to be dated is twenty-eight.

There are two principal types of Hadra vases, distinguished by their manner of decoration: those

decorated with brownish glaze on a clay-colored ground, and those with polychrome decoration on white ground. This basic distinction, which goes back to Merriam,<sup>10</sup> still holds good<sup>11</sup> but is capable of further division. Among the clay-ground vases, one large class displays a feature of construction that sets it apart not only from the other Hadra vases, but from most other ancient vases. In the case of most ancient vases, only the body and neck can be considered to form the container: the foot, however decorative, functions only as a support. This remains true whether the foot is made in one piece with the body, or made separately and added before firing. In this particular class of Hadra vases, however, the capacity of the vase is increased by dropping the floor of the body into the foot, which must therefore have been thrown in one piece with the body (see Figure 1). This feature occurs on a few other vases of the Hellenistic period, but not, so far as I know, earlier.

The class thus distinguished, which may be called the Dropped Floor Class, includes many of the inscribed vases and almost all of those with dates.<sup>12</sup>

stroke of the alpha; the rest is faint but can be read with certainty.

Athens 2570 (Braunert, *loc. cit.* no. 4. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 16, pls. 6 and 18, Group D, 26). Lightly incised after firing: [ δ' Λώϊου καθ' ἐπαχθεὶς ηἱ (?) | Δευτέρωνος | Δάμωνος τοῦ | Ἐρατωνίδου | Ἀστυπαιεύως.

A hydria dated by the month and day, but with no indication of the year, is in the Musée Rodin (inv. TC 1001; *CVA* pl. 40, 8–9). It contained the ashes of an Athenian, and the month is given according to the Athenian calendar:

Θεοδώρου Ἀθηναίου | Ἐλαφηβολιώνος ζ'.

8. T. Rönne and P. M. Fraser, "A Hadra-vase in the Ashmolean Museum" in *JEA* 39 (1953) pp. 84 ff. P. M. Fraser, "Inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt" in *Berytus* 13 (1959–1960) pp. 153 ff., nos. 13 (Cairo, Michaelides) and 14 (Alexandria, Benaki).

9. New York 90.9.41 (G.R. 677), see below p. 25, no. 11.

10. *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 19. In addition to distinguishing the "salmon" (clay-ground) and "white" (polychrome) hydriai, Merriam noted a class of "black" vases among those he saw. The only example now in the Museum is 90.9.1 (G.R. 661), a black-glazed ribbed amphora with twisted handles (Merriam, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, center. Richter, *Handbook GC* p. 130, note 83, pl. 110h. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art* [1957] p. 357, fig. 476 a). The decoration consists of applied reliefs on the body and below the handles, and ivy wreaths in added white around the body and neck; some of the details of the wreath on the neck are incised. The lid illustrated by Merriam has been missing from the vase since at least 1913, and perhaps did not come to the Museum in 1890. Similar vases have been found principally

in Crete and the cemeteries of Alexandria (Ibrahimich and Hadra; none were found in Breccia's excavations at Chatby [Breccia, *Sciatbi* p. 28]); for discussions of the type (the so-called Plakettenvasen) see A. Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff I* (Berlin, 1883–1887) pl. 74, 1; Pagenstecher, *Sieglin II*, 3, pp. 53 ff.; and W. Züchner, "Von Toreuten und Töpfern" in *JdI* 65/66 (1950–1951) pp. 175 ff. The representative white-ground hydria illustrated by Merriam is New York 90.9.67 (G.R. 690). It has often been republished, most recently in Brown, *PPM* p. 61, no. 41, pl. 33; to the bibliography add: Pagenstecher in *RM* 27 (1912) p. 119, fig. 3; Buschor, *Medusa Rondanini* (1958) p. 35, pl. 53, 3.

11. The most detailed discussions of the classes of Hadra vases are those of Breccia and Pagenstecher: Breccia in *B. Arch. Alex.* 8 (1905) pp. 84 ff., *Iscrizioni* pp. x ff., *Sciatbi* pp. 25 ff., and *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914) pp. 234 ff. and (1922) pp. 221 ff.; Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) pp. 389 ff., and *Sieglin II*, 3, pp. 34 ff. See also E. von Stern, "Ein Beitrag zur hellenistischen Keramik" in *Žapiski Odesskoe Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostei* 28 (1910) pp. 176 ff.; and A. Di Vita, "Un Nuovo vaso della necropoli alessandrina di Hadra" in *Bollettino d'Arte* ser. 4, 41 (1956) p. 99. The most recent discussion in English is R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (1960) pp. 208 ff.

12. The only certain exceptions are New York 90.9.46 (G.R. 672) and 90.9.47 (G.R. 674), and Alexandria inv. 7307 (Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 187); perhaps also Alexandria, Benaki (*Berytus* 13 [1959–1960] pp. 158 ff., fig. 1). The inscriptions on four dated vases (Breccia, *Iscrizioni* p. xvii, nos. 18, 19, 23, and 25) are known only from Botti's MS. notes which, as published by Breccia, give no indication of the shape of the vase. The present location of these four vases is not known to me.

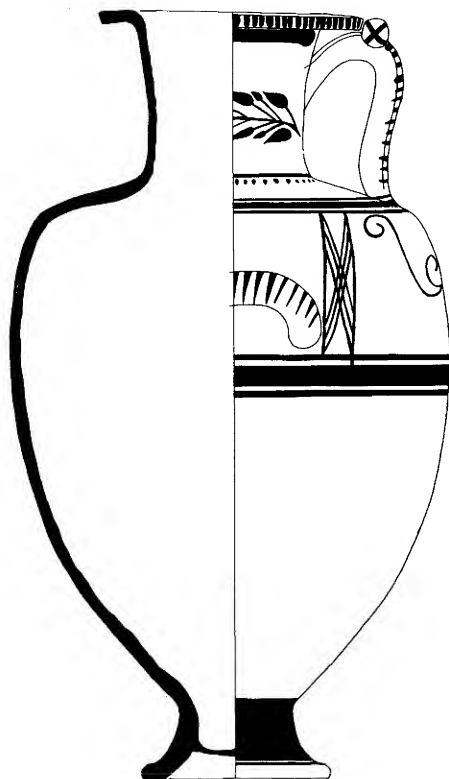


Figure 1

2 90.9.38

Most of the vases with inscriptions below the foot also fall into this category, since the area suitable for writing in this place is larger than it would be if the base of the vase were level with the top of the foot. The rim surrounding this area, formed by the lower extremity of the foot, is also lower, and therefore less of an impediment to the writer.

The general shape of the Dropped Floor Class and its scheme of decoration seem to have remained fairly constant for a number of years—more than sixty if the currently accepted chronology is correct—with but few minor variations. Moreover, the variations that do exist, in such details as the shape of the handles, seem to occur at random and to have no chronological significance.<sup>13</sup> The body is ovoid, with an offset shoulder from which the neck also is sharply offset. The lip is thin, sometimes slightly convex above and concave below, and has a straight edge. The lower part of the body tapers considerably, and the diameter where it meets the foot is rather less than that of the neck. The side handles, usually round but occasionally flat, are set some way below the shoulder

and curl upward; the back handle is sometimes flat or twisted, but more often ridged, and almost always has a crosspiece near the edge of the lip, round in section and thinner in the middle than at the ends, which are flat and resemble rotellae.

The scheme of decoration is similarly standardized: concentric circles on top of the lip, strokes or blobs on the edge; a laurel wreath on the neck; a narrow line at the top and bottom of the neck; a broad line flanked by narrow lines at the edge of the shoulder and again around the body below the handles. Variation is introduced in the details of the patternwork on the shoulder and in the handle zone of the body. The handles are usually flanked by narrow upright strips of patternwork, which divide the handle zone into four panels. This patternwork often consists of cross-hatching or of a saltire cross with three or four strokes to each limb. The side panels are frequently undecorated; the back panel often has a rinceau of simple form; the patternwork in the front panel varies greatly from vase to vase, and may include strips of cross-hatching, running dog, and ivy and other floral motifs. Below the handle zone the body is reserved, and it is here that most of the longer inscriptions were written. The foot is glazed on top, with a reserved line (sometimes grooved) near the lower edge; the underside is reserved. The handles are regularly decorated with glazed lines running at right angles to their main axis; the rotellae have saltire crosses. The idiosyncrasies of this class of hydriai suggest that all its members were made in one workshop, though the lifespan of the type indicates that more than one potter was responsible for their production.

Patternwork similar in many respects is often found on other Hadra vases and may be considered typical for the clay-ground vases as a whole. There are, however, a number of significant variations. The most important is the revival, in the third century according to Breccia,<sup>14</sup> of a black-figure technique perhaps derived from the late Panathenaic amphorae. Such an origin is supported by the subject matter of some of the figured Hadra vases: the foot race and the race in armor. Other subjects include real and imaginary animals (swans, goats, and dolphins; griffins and winged horses), and some more ambitious compositions such as a gravestone between mourning

13. Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 37; cf. Rönne in *JEA* 39 (1953) p. 85 and Brown, *PPM* p. 9, note 20.

14. *Sciathi*, p. 27. Cp. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* pp. 10–11.

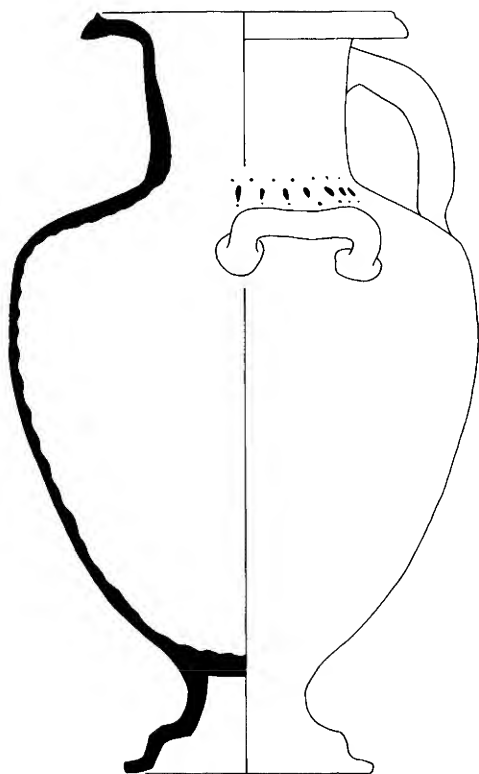


Figure 2

22 90.9.60

sirens, Nike standing between tripods, and Erotes hunting.<sup>15</sup> The technique of these figured vases is not always true black-figure, since the incised details are sometimes omitted or replaced by reserved lines. Outline drawing is comparatively rare; added white is sometimes used.

A less important variation from the standard type of decoration, noted by Pagenstecher as rather infrequent,<sup>16</sup> is the glazing of the lower part of the body, which is usually left undecorated. The hydriai that show this feature often have little else in common with each other, either in shape or in patternwork. A few examples are described in detail in the catalogue entries that follow.

The second type of Hadra vases is distinguished by polychrome decoration on a white ground laid over a reddish clay body. These white-ground hydriai usually differ from the clay-ground vases in details of

shape as well as in decorative technique. Figure 2 shows the shape of New York 90.9.60, the only inscribed example in the collection, which may serve as a representative of the type.<sup>17</sup> The body and shoulder form a continuous curve; the neck is offset. The back and side handles are all round, the latter tightly curled and set well back and very high on the body. Both lip and foot have ornate profiles that vary in detail on other vases. The foot was made separately and attached to the body before firing—this manner of construction is implied by the shape and proved by the drying cracks, which reveal the joint on the inside. After firing, the vase was given a thick coat of whitewash to serve as a ground for the polychrome painting in tempera. The colors used on these white-ground vases include dark and light red, yellow, green, blue, various shades of brown, and black. The white ground has occasionally in the past been described as a white slip, an inaccurate term that has led to a mistaken idea of the sequence of manufacture. If the white coating were a slip, it would be possible to incise an inscription through the slip and into the clay body before firing the vase. An analysis, however, of a small specimen of the white ground from one of the less well-preserved hydriai has shown that the white substance is not clay but consists almost entirely of calcium carbonate.<sup>18</sup> The correct description, then, is whitewash. This must, of course, have been added to the vase after firing, while an incision through the whitewash into the terracotta represents a still later process. Such inscriptions are not common, and there are no dated inscriptions on the white-ground hydriai. Excavations in the Alexandrian cemeteries, however, suggest that they are contemporaneous with the clay-ground type.<sup>19</sup> They were used as cinerary urns, and their rather impractical surface implies that they were made solely for funerary use. This is sometimes confirmed by the subject matter, for example by a grave stele painted on a hydria excavated at Chatby. The sex of the deceased may be indicated by armor for a man or by articles of toilet for a woman, while other subjects include a mixing bowl, shoes, and Panathenaic

15. For a more detailed list of subjects see E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* pp. 159–160; for illustrations see Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* pls. 1 ff.

16. *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 38.

17. See below, p. 30, no. 22. Not all of the white-ground hydriai are so clearly distinguished in shape from the special class of

clay-ground hydriai already described; cp. for example, Cairo 26252 (Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 48 and pl. 19).

18. Analysis by the late Murray Pease, Conservator of the Metropolitan Museum.

19. Breccia, *Sciatbi* p. 27.

amphorae.<sup>20</sup> The decoration, however, often consists simply of colored fillets.

## *History of the collection*

Merriam's publication of the inscribed vases antedated by some five years their purchase by the Museum. They had been collected at Alexandria over a period of years by P. Pugioli,<sup>21</sup> a local antiquarian, part of whose large collection subsequently passed to the museums of Alexandria<sup>22</sup> and Cairo.<sup>23</sup> About seventy-five vases were acquired from him by Elbert E. Farman, who had been the United States' diplomatic agent and Consul General at Cairo from 1876 to 1881, and was a Judge of the Mixed Tribunals of Egypt from 1881 to 1884. In 1883–1884 he was a member of the International Commission that examined claims and made distributions to the inhabitants of Alexandria in compensation for losses arising from the bombardment and burning of that city in 1882,<sup>24</sup> and it was during these years that he acquired the vases from Pugioli.<sup>25</sup> Judge Farman had the vases shipped to New York, where they were put into the hands of Gaston Feuardent<sup>26</sup> for sale. The vases were at Feuardent's when Merriam saw them and published the inscriptions, but Judge Farman subsequently removed them and put them

into storage at two separate locations in New York City, where most of them remained until 1890.<sup>27</sup> About the same time Judge Farman also acquired another group of Hadra vases along with six painted limestone loculus slabs, all of which were said to have been found together with other vases and slabs in a single tomb near Alexandria in 1884.<sup>28</sup> These vases and slabs were already in the United States when Merriam published the others, but he had not been able to see them since they were not yet unpacked.<sup>29</sup> Merriam published the limestone slabs in 1887 while they were on loan in the Museum, but he had apparently not yet seen the vases from the same tomb.<sup>30</sup>

Early in 1890 it was proposed that the Museum should acquire the vases that had been published by Merriam, and L. P. di Cesnola, the Director of the Museum, sent the Curator of Casts, J. A. Paine, to look at them. On March 7, 1890, Dr. Paine reported to General Cesnola<sup>31</sup> that he had "examined the collection of Sepulchral Vases from Alexandria in Egypt, acquired by the Hon. E. E. Farman from Chevalier P. Pugioli about six years ago," and on his recommendation the vases were bought from Judge Farman in September of the same year. According to Paine's report, some of the lot originally imported had been sold by Feuardent: "a black one was purchased by a Mr. Clark[e] of this city; two or three others, of natural terra-cotta surface ornamented in

20. For a number of well-preserved examples and a discussion of the style see Brown, *PPM* pp. 60 ff. and pls. 32–37.

21. Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18; cf. Farman's letter to Reynolds, June 28, 1909, quoted in Brown, *PPM* pp. 11–12. The eight hydriai from Hadra published by Neroutsos (see Concordance III) were probably found in 1883–1884 (*L'Ancienne Alexandrie* p. 81).

22. In 1892; *Le Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie (1892–1898). Rapport du Dr. G. Botti* p. 36.

23. "Extrait de l'inventaire du Musée de Boulaq comprenant les objets entrés dans les collections du 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier au 31 Décembre 1888" in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien* ser. II, 9 (1888) pp. IV ff., nos. 28201–28309. Cf. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. iv, and the bibliographical entries on the relevant items *s.v.* *Journal d'entrée du Musée*.

24. *Who Was Who in America, 1897–1942, s.v.* Farman, Elbert Eli.

25. The exact date of the purchase is not known to me. Neroutsos's statement that the vases from Hadra were found in 1883–1884 (see above, note 21) provides the *terminus post quem*. The *terminus ante quem* is furnished by Merriam's publication of the

inscriptions in the January 1885 issue of *AJA*; he had presumably seen the vases in 1884. Farman visited Pugioli to see his collection on April 21, 1884, accompanied by Charles Edwin Wilbour, the noted amateur Egyptologist (*Travels in Egypt [December 1880 to May 1891]. Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, ed. Jean Capart. [Brooklyn, 1936] p. 313), but Wilbour does not mention any purchase of vases on this date.

26. Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18.

27. These vases did not come to the Museum in 1885, *pace* Brown, *PPM* pp. 4 and 9, and E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* p. 158.

28. See Farman's letter of October 31, 1893, to C. T. Cook. The letter was printed as a pamphlet by Tiffany and Co., of which Mr. Cook was president, and is reprinted here as Appendix B.

29. Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18.

30. Merriam, "Painted Sepulchral Stelai from Alexandria" in *AJA* ser. I, 3 (1887) pp. 261 ff.

31. Paine's report to Cesnola is preserved in the Museum's Archives.

black designs, etc., were bought by gentlemen whose names have been forgotten. None of these happened to carry inscriptions . . .” The vase bought by Mr. Clarke was a black-glazed ribbed amphora with twisted handles, one of the class of black vases that had been described by Merriam.<sup>32</sup> It was sold at auction in New York in 1899, and its present location is not known to me.<sup>33</sup> I have been unable to identify the two or three clay-ground vases that were sold by Feuardent.

Paine states that he actually saw sixty-eight vases in all. These included twenty-seven of the twenty-eight inscribed vases published by Merriam, “the one exception being his no. 28 (p. 27), the last and least in the list because presenting only two letters of its record. Besides these, I found one more inscribed example, which Professor Merriam did not report upon.” This additional inscribed vase is not described by Paine, but he implies in another part of his report that the inscription is somewhat different in character from the inscriptions published by Merriam. The vase can therefore be identified with reasonable certainty as a two-handled jar with an inscription in noncursive letters on the shoulder. It was published by Mrs. Brown, and is discussed in detail below.<sup>34</sup> Paine also noted that Judge Farman promised to add three more inscribed vases to those he had seen. These three were from the other group of vases found with Judge Farman’s loculus slabs in 1884. At the time of Paine’s report, they had been lent for study to a professor in New York, in whose hands, according to Judge Farman, the condition of the inscriptions had deteriorated. That they did in fact come to the Museum was stated in letters he wrote to C. T. Cook of Tiffany and Co. in 1893,<sup>35</sup> and to P. H. Reynolds, Registrar of the Museum, in 1909.<sup>36</sup> No record of their identity, however, was made at the time, and subsequent attempts to identify them were based on the known facts that they were inscribed and had not

been published by Merriam. Three vases that apparently fulfilled these conditions were noted in the card catalogue of the Greek and Roman Department, and they were eventually published by Blanche R. Brown<sup>37</sup> in her discussion of the contents of the “Soldiers’ Tomb,” which had been thought for many years to be identical with the tomb seen by Judge Farman in 1884. Two of the vases were considered by Mrs. Brown to be likely candidates for the tomb group, the third to be less likely. This third vase can now definitely be withdrawn, since further study of its inscription has shown that it was published in 1887 as having been found in 1880, some four years before the discovery of the tomb from which Farman’s loculus slabs came. It is the two-handled jar with an inscription on the shoulder that is probably to be identified as the additional inscribed vase mentioned in Paine’s report.<sup>38</sup> One of the other two must also be deleted from her list since it was seen at Feuardent’s by Merriam. He does not, indeed, publish the inscription, but he does mention the figures on the body: “a genius and ibex vis-a-vis,” a description that applies only to New York 90.9.9.<sup>39</sup> This leaves one hydria with an inscription not published by Merriam that might be thought to be more securely assigned to the tomb since the name appears to be a Celtic one.<sup>40</sup> The excellent condition of the inscription, however, seems to exclude even this vase from the group of three promised by Judge Farman, since he said that the inscriptions of those had deteriorated. The whole argument for identifying these three vases is in fact a tenuous one, resting as it does on the double assumption that Merriam published all the inscribed vases that were at Feuardent’s in 1884, and that only three vases not published by him were inscribed. The first assumption has already been shown to be incorrect, and the second is equally unfounded: four more hydriai not mentioned by Merriam have been found to be inscribed. Three of these are still in the

32. See above, p. 9, note 10.

33. *Catalogue of a Loan Collection of American Landscapes together with Greek Terra-cotta Figures and Vases Exhibited at the Union League Club, New York, January 9–11, 1890* no. 20. *Cat. American Art Galleries, New York, February 14–18, 1899* (Thomas B. Clarke Collection) no. 387.

34. 90.9.2 (G.R. 707). See Appendix A; cf. note 38.

35. The letter is reprinted in full in Appendix B.

36. See Brown, *PPM* pp. 11–12.

37. *PPM* pp. 8–9, with commentaries on the inscriptions by C. Bradford Welles, *ibid.*, notes 15, 17, and 19.

38. See note 34.

39. Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 20; see below, p. 31, no. 25.

40. 90.9.34 (G.R. 715); see below, p. 28, no. 17. For the Celtic form of the name see Welles in Brown, *PPM* p. 8, note 17.

Museum,<sup>41</sup> while the fourth was among those sold at auction in 1928.<sup>42</sup> It has passed through several hands and now belongs to Iris C. Love of New York, who has kindly allowed me to study it.<sup>43</sup> The thirty-one Hadra vases sold in 1928 included three of those published by Merriam, and it is not impossible that others besides Miss Love's had unnoticed inscriptions.

The question is further complicated by numerical discrepancies in the various accounts: Merriam stated that there were "about 75 vases" at Feuarden's in 1884; Paine reported that three or four of these had been sold and that there were sixty-eight left in March 1890; Judge Farman promised to add three more to these, but the receipt given to him in September 1890<sup>44</sup> specified seventy-six, while only seventy-two were found in 1913 when the vases were eventually accessioned. I am unable to explain the discrepancy between seventy-six and seventy-two, but a remark in Judge Farman's letter to Reynolds in 1909 leads to a plausible solution to the first part of the problem. Judge Farman wrote: "One or two of the urns were first bought by the late Mr. Marquand and afterwards came to the Museum."<sup>45</sup> These two vases were clay-ground hydriai purchased by the

Museum at the Marquand sale in 1903.<sup>46</sup> There were also, however, two white-ground hydriai in the sale, which were not bought by the Museum.<sup>47</sup> Mr. Marquand, then, had owned four Hadra vases, presumably all obtained from the same source. Since his name, however, was too well known in New York in the 1880s to be casually forgotten, and since his vases included two of the white-ground variety, it is improbable that his vases were those sold by Feuarden: it seems more likely that they were bought by Mr. Marquand from Judge Farman himself after the remainder of the original collection had been removed from Feuarden's. The Judge remembered the transaction when he wrote to Reynolds in 1909, but mentioned only the hydriai then in the Museum, forgetting or ignoring the two white-ground hydriai that had gone elsewhere. Thus the sale of three or four vases by Feuarden and of four more hydriai to Mr. Marquand reduced the original number of "about 75" to the sixty-eight seen by Paine. To these were added the three promised by Judge Farman, and we must presume that one more—with no tangible clues to its identity or provenance—was also added to bring the total to the seventy-two accessioned in 1913.

41. (i) 90.9.16 (G.R. 698); see below, p. 27, no. 15.

(ii) 90.9.11; see below, p. 29, no. 20.

(iii) 90.9.43 (G.R. 727), published by Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) p. 403, fig. 8 (cf. *id.* *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 46, whence Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 8, Group F, 7), has traces of letters on the front below the patternwork, but no text can be read. It is an unlikely candidate for the tomb, however, since its shape and patternwork relate it closely to New York 90.9.13 (G.R. 687), one of the hydriai seen by Merriam at Feuarden's (see below, p. 24, no. 8). On the relative quality of the vases seen by Merriam and those from the tomb, see Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18 (quoted below, p. 16), and cf. *Cat. Parke-Bernet, January 31, 1946*, nos. 203 and 204, two of the vases from the tomb kept by Farman for his home in Warsaw, N.Y. This is the only publication of these vases known to me. No. 203 is now New York, Blanche R. Brown.

42. *Cat. Anderson Galleries, March 30-31, 1928* (part 1) and *April 20-21, 1928* (part 2), *Cypriote and Classical Antiquities, Duplicates of the Cesnola and Other Collections, sold by order of the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*. For a list of purchasers see Brown, *PPM* p. 4, note 2, and add: no. 281 (once New York 90.9.8 [G.R. 701]), bought by J. Ringling for the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. The other vases bought by Mr. Ringling are also now in Sarasota. No. 280 (once New York 03.3.7 [G.R. 729], from the Marquand collection, see note 46, no. 976) is now in the Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art. At least three of the vases listed have since changed hands: no. 269 (once New York 90.9.12 [G.R. 724]), bought for the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (accession number 28.18,

*Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts* 18 [1929] p. 46) and later sold, *Cat. Parke-Bernet, May 15, 1958*, no. 164; *id.*, *January 28, 1959*, no. 204; now New York, Iris C. Love (cf. note 43). No. 271 (once New York 90.9.25 [G.R. 711]), also bought for the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and later sold, *Cat. Parke-Bernet, May 15, 1958*, no. 165. No. 400 is now Raleigh (N.C.), North Carolina Museum of Art, G. 56.35.4, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James P. Beckwith.

43. Height 40.0 cm., diameter 25.3 cm., width with handles 32.2 cm. In the handle zone, front: lotus and palmette; back: dolphins. On the shoulder: dolphins, row of dots, running dog. On the neck, in ink: *CIT*. Illustrated in Swindler, *AP* fig. 562 (lower row, right) and *Cat. Anderson Galleries, March 30-31, 1928*, p. 68 (no. 269; see also above, note 42).

44. A copy of this receipt is preserved in the Museum's Archives.

45. Cf. Brown, *PPM* p. 11.

46. *Cat. American Art Association, January 23-31, 1903* (Henry G. Marquand Collection), no. 976, once New York 03.3.7 (G.R. 729), see above, note 42, no. 280; *ibid.*, no. 979, once New York 03.3.6 (G.R. 723), *Cat. Anderson Galleries, March 30-31, 1928*, no. 409, now Sarasota, Florida, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art.

47. *Cat. American Art Association, January 23-31, 1903*, nos. 977 and 978.



## The “Soldiers’ Tomb”

The problem of identifying the three vases found with Farman’s loculus slabs raises the further problem of the actual provenance of both vases and slabs. Merriam<sup>48</sup> concluded that the tomb seen and described by Farman was different from that published by Neroutsos and slightly earlier in date, but in spite of his statement the two tombs have frequently been treated as one. The conflation of the two tomb groups seems to go back to 1888, when S. Reinach<sup>49</sup> presumed that Farman’s slabs came from the Soldiers’ Tomb—a reasonable assumption in view of the large size of the Soldiers’ Tomb as described by Neroutsos and the rather sketchy published account of the tomb in which Farman’s slabs had been found. A reconsideration, however, of the information provided by Neroutsos and of the more detailed description by Farman that is now available makes it clear that Merriam was correct in supposing that the two tombs were distinct.

The following description of the Soldiers’ Tomb—to keep that term for the tomb published by Neroutsos—is based on the only primary publication, that of Neroutsos himself.<sup>50</sup> The tomb was discovered in 1885 in a cemetery to the northeast of Alexandria. Neroutsos describes the location in some detail, and calls it “Khâdrah-sur-mer.” On his map<sup>51</sup> the tomb is marked a little to the east of the conjectured site of the tomb of Stratonice,<sup>52</sup> and this location is followed by Breccia,<sup>53</sup> though both he and Adriani<sup>54</sup> describe the area by the term that has come into use since Neroutsos’s publication: Ibrahimieh. It was a circular tomb (Neroutsos adds that the roof was a conical vault like a tholos, but this detail, as we shall see, is probably fanciful); cut into the sides were many loculi (Neroutsos specifies “une centaine de niches”), of which some were empty, while others were closed with loculus slabs and contained Hadra vases of the

familiar type. The inscriptions on some of the slabs and vases indicated that the tomb accommodated the remains of foreign mercenaries and their families.

Neroutsos published the following inscribed objects as coming from the tomb (the serial numbers are those used by Neroutsos himself, who made it clear that the inscriptions with lower and higher numbers had other provenances; the references are not exhaustive and are supplied merely for identification):

12. Hadra hydria. Alexandria, inv. 5272. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 188. *SB* 2102.
13. Hadra hydria. Alexandria, inv. 5271. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 191. *SB* 1684.
14. Hadra hydria. Cairo 26234. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 40. *SB* 1685.
15. Hadra hydria. Alexandria, inv. 5270, formerly Gizeh Museum 28288. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 192. *SB* 2104.
16. Amphora. Cairo 26250. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 47, pl. 19. *SB* 2105.
17. Hadra hydria. Alexandria, inv. 5281. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 194. *SB* 2106.
18. Hadra hydria. Cairo 26235. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 41, pl. 16. *SB* 2107.
19. Hadra hydria. Alexandria, inv. 5275a, formerly Gizeh Museum 20304. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 193. *SB* 2108.
20. Hadra vase. *SB* 2109.
21. Hadra hydria. Later Paris market. *Cat. Vente Drouot 15–16 juin 1891* (Collection H. Hoffmann) no. 329. *Cat. Vente Drouot 15–19 mai 1899* (Collection H. Hoffmann) no. 89. *SB* 2110.
22. Hadra hydria. Probably Cairo 26226. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 35, pl. 14. *SB* 2111.
23. Loculus slab. *SB* 2112.
24. Loculus slab. Alexandria, inv. 112. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* no. 233. *SB* 2113.
25. Loculus slab. Louvre, MNC 829. *SB* 2114.

48. *AJA* ser. I, 3 (1887) p. 267.

49. Review of Neroutsos, *L’Ancienne Alexandrie* in *Revue critique d’histoire et de littérature* 26 (1888, 2) p. 420; cf. *RA* 13 (1889, 1) p. 323.

50. “Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies dans la ville d’Alexandrie et aux environs. III. Nécropole de l’est (Khâdrah-sur-mer)” in *RA* 9 (1887, 1) pp. 291 ff. (= *L’Ancienne Alexandrie* pp. 102 ff.), nos. 12–28.

51. *L’Ancienne Alexandrie*, end; reprinted in Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914) fig. 9; (1922) fig. 26.

52. The site is known only from Athenacus, XIII, 576 f. Cf. *L’Ancienne Alexandrie* p. 80.

53. *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1914) p. 74 and map; (1922) pp. 87–88 and map. Cf. *B. Arch. Alex.* 8 (1905) p. 58, note 1, where Breccia places the Soldiers’ Tomb a little to the east of the Chatby necropolis.

54. *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain* (1935–1939) p. 128.



26. Loculus slab. Louvre, MNC 837. *SB* 2115.  
 27. Loculus slab. St. Germain-en-Laye, 31234. *SB* 2116. Brown, *PPM* p. 17, no. 7.  
 28. Loculus slab. St. Germain-en-Laye, 31235. *SB* 2117. Brown, *PPM* p. 18, no. 8.

Several of these pieces can be connected with Pugioli. The vases in Cairo all came from his collection,<sup>55</sup> while the loculus slabs in the Louvre were bought from him by Daninos, who sold them to the Louvre in May 1886.<sup>56</sup> The others were also no doubt in Pugioli's possession at one time,<sup>57</sup> and it is likely that Neroutsos derived his knowledge both of the tomb and the inscriptions from him.

To turn now to the tomb in which Farman's loculus slabs were found, and the circumstances of its discovery, as described by Farman and Merriam:<sup>58</sup> it was found early in 1884 about thirty feet below ground level, probably in the Ibrahimieh cemetery;<sup>59</sup> it was a room or vault, about fourteen feet square and about eight feet high; it contained "a considerable number" of loculus slabs and about fifty vases, of which about thirty, according to Merriam, were in good condition though reported to be "poorer in quality than those in the Pugioli collection." A few of these vases, said to be fragmentary, were inscribed. The vagueness of Farman's account is due partly to the fact that he was taken to the tomb secretly and by night. His guide was "an old antiquarian," whom Farman does not name, but with whom he says he was "well acquainted"; Pugioli, beyond a doubt. When the two arrived at the tomb, the loculi had already been opened, the slabs were leaning against the walls, and the vases were piled in the middle. The following evening the vases were taken to Farman's rooms and opened in his presence. Farman continues: "I brought the vases that were not broken and the more interesting stelai to New York. The

latter are now [1893] in my collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art . . ." These were the slabs, six in number, that Merriam published in 1887 while they were on loan to the Museum (they were later purchased from Farman by Darius Ogden Mills and given to the Museum). Others, he added, had been found in the tomb, "but their condition was so bad that it was not thought worth while to transport them [to New York]." There is now no evidence for a positive identification of these slabs or of the broken vases that Farman did not buy. Some of these, according to Merriam, were inscribed, and he published the following "as copied by Signor Pugioli in Alexandria":

ΘΗΡΑΙΔΑΣ	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	ΑΠΟΛ
ΘΗΡΑΙΟΣ	ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ	ΛωΝ
	ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ	

Of these inscriptions, the only one that can be readily identified is the first; it is not, however, a Hadra vase, but an alabastron formerly in the Pugioli collection and now in Cairo.<sup>60</sup> Pugioli, then, was indeed able to copy the inscription, but according to Neroutsos, who also published it,<sup>61</sup> the alabastron was found at Meks in the western necropolis of Alexandria, and it must therefore be dissociated from the tomb that contained Farman's loculus slabs. The other inscriptions furnished by Pugioli are probably also to be considered alien to that tomb. Merriam's mention of Pugioli in connection with the tomb, however, confirms the conjecture that he was the "old antiquarian" who conducted Farman to it and sold him part of its contents. Attempts to trace the vases bought by Farman have been only partially successful. Two hydriai acquired from him by C. T. Cook in 1893 are now in the Cooper Union Museum, New York.<sup>62</sup> Seven of those that he retained during his lifetime

55. Edgar, *Greek Vases*, *loc. cit.*

56. A. J.-Reinach *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910) p. 43, note 2.

57. Cf. Schreiber, *Sieglin* I, p. 161.

58. Farman: see his letter to C. T. Cook, reprinted in Appendix B. Merriam: *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18 and *AJA* ser. I, 3 (1887) pp. 261 ff.

59. "About a mile east of the walls of the present city" was Farman's description in 1893; in 1911 he told A. M. Lythgoe, then Curator of Egyptian Art at the Metropolitan Museum, that the place was "a suburb of Alexandria now called Ramleh" (this statement is recorded in the card catalogue of the Greek

and Roman Department). "Ramleh" is an imprecise term that was applied at that time to a series of suburbs extending from Ibrahimieh eastward along the coast. It does, however, rule out both Chatby, which is farther west, and Hadra, which is inland. Merriam notes that the tomb was "near the sea," *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 18, and *AJA* ser. I, 3 (1887) p. 262.

60. Cairo 26259. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 51 and pl. 20. *SB* 299.

61. *RA* 18 (1891, 2) p. 336, no. 1.

62. Accession numbers 1930-5-1 and 1930-5-2. These are the two vases that occasioned the letter from Judge Farman to C. T. Cook reprinted in Appendix B.

were sold at auction in 1946;<sup>63</sup> one of them now belongs to Mrs. Brown, but I do not know the locations of the others. Four more hydriai (two clay-ground and two white-ground) are still in the possession of his son, Colonel Elbert E. Farman. The remaining fourteen or so are still to be traced.

If the tomb from which Farman's loculus slabs came is identified with the Soldiers' Tomb, a number of problems arise. Probably the most striking is the discrepancy in the shape of the tomb as described by Neroutsos on the one hand and by Merriam and Farman on the other: Neroutsos described an underground tomb with a conical vault like a Mycenaean tholos; but the tomb Farman saw was indubitably rectangular and probably barrel-vaulted. From the fact that no other tholos tomb has been found in Alexandria, and because Neroutsos, who is known not to have conducted excavations himself, probably knew this tomb only at second hand, Mrs. Brown concluded that he was completely mistaken as regards its shape.<sup>64</sup> Granted that the account of Neroutsos is not wholly accurate, the question arises: just how much of his evidence is trustworthy? If it is to be disregarded entirely, no basis is left for treating as part of a tomb group the inscribed vases and slabs published by Neroutsos. Rather than make an arbitrary selection of what to believe and what to reject, it seems best to dispute the accuracy only of those statements that can be shown to be at variance with evidence from other sources.<sup>65</sup> Now, no parallel for the conical roof described by Neroutsos has yet been found in an Alexandrian tomb, and in this detail he may well have been mistaken. On the other hand, it would be unwise to dispute his statement that the tomb was circular in plan, since circular tombs with loculi have, in fact, been found in Alexandrian cemeteries. Two discovered in 1933, for example, were published by Adriani,<sup>66</sup> who pointed out their relationship to the Soldiers' Tomb and discussed the other examples. The roofs, of course, are not conical, but flat.

A similar view of the credibility of Neroutsos's

statements should be taken in dealing with the second problem raised by combining the two tombs: the date of discovery. Farman says that the tomb he saw was found in 1884, agreeing with Merriam's statement of January 1885 that it was found "about a year ago." Neroutsos, however, puts the discovery of the Soldiers' Tomb in 1885. In default of any other evidence, both dates may be accepted as correct.

The condition of the various loculus slabs creates another contradiction. The remaining slabs, seen by Farman but not bought by him, were said to be in such poor condition that they were not brought to New York. The two slabs in St. Germain-en-Laye,<sup>67</sup> however, which were undoubtedly found in the Soldiers' Tomb, appear to be about as well preserved as those in New York. A similar contradiction arises concerning the vases. Farman bought the unbroken vases from the 1884 tomb, apparently about thirty in number and reputedly poorer in quality than the vases from the Pugioli collection. Merriam adds that the inscribed vases in this tomb were fragmentary, though his statements on this point are, as seen already, open to doubt. Yet the vases from the Soldiers' Tomb, so far as they can be traced, are for the most part intact, and their quality is comparable to the Pugioli vases now in New York. Did Farman, a collector of considerable means and experience, allow the inscribed vases from the Soldiers' Tomb to slip through his fingers while buying some thirty others, later said to be poorer in quality? Did Pugioli pick over the contents of the tomb before Farman was taken to see it, keeping the better vases for his own collection? If so, why did he not also keep the better loculus slabs? It seems much more probable that Farman, as he claimed, did buy the lion's share of the contents of the tomb he saw, and that this was in 1884, the year before the Soldiers' Tomb was found.

The problems that arise from adding Farman's vases and slabs to the contents of the Soldiers' Tomb can hardly be solved. Add to this impasse the fact that no single item is assigned to both groups of objects in the primary publications, and it becomes

63. *Cat. Parke-Bernet, January 31–February 2, 1946*, nos. 202–205.

64. Brown, *PPM* p. 6.

65. Cf. Breccia's comments on Neroutsos: "From 1878 to 1888, a Greek Doctor, Dr. Tassos Neroutsos, kept a record of all the chance discoveries made in Alexandria. He was a good Greek and Latin scholar and a distinguished epigraphist. Consequently, though he personally never undertook any excavations, yet

his articles and his memoir on *Ancient Alexandria* (Paris, 1888) contain a great deal of useful information and a great many observations that are nearly always correct." *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (English ed., 1922) p. 62.

66. *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain* (1935–1939) pp. 88 ff.

67. See the list quoted above, p. 16, nos. 27 and 28. On the condition, cf. Brown, *PPM* p. 19.

clear that we are dealing not with one tomb but, as Merriam saw, with two: a rectangular tomb found in 1884, the contents of which were dispersed by Pugioli, some slabs and vases being sold to Farman, the remainder no longer identifiable; and a circular tomb found in 1885, the inscriptions from which were published by Neroutsos, while Pugioli again dispersed the objects.

With these facts in mind it is necessary to reconsider the list of eleven loculus slabs assigned to the "Soldiers' Tomb" by Mrs. Brown.<sup>68</sup> The first six slabs in her list are those bought by Farman and now in the Metropolitan Museum. They were not, it appears, found in the Soldiers' Tomb, and cannot be dated absolutely by their context since no dated vases were found with them. The next four slabs in Mrs. Brown's list are in St. Germain-en-Laye. As she pointed out, the first two certainly come from the Soldiers' Tomb, since their inscriptions were published by Neroutsos;<sup>69</sup> the other two were acquired with them and probably come from the same tomb. The status of the eleventh slab, now Louvre MNC 834, is rather less secure. It is one of the sixteen stelai that were acquired by the Louvre in the spring of 1886, ostensibly having been found at "Hadra-Chatby" not long before.<sup>70</sup> Two of them, however, were published by Neroutsos as having been found in

the Soldiers' Tomb,<sup>71</sup> and it is not impossible that at least some of the others came from the same rich source. On the other hand, there is no positive evidence that any of them actually was found there, while five of them should perhaps be ruled out altogether since, though inscribed, they were not published by Neroutsos and were apparently unknown to him.<sup>72</sup> As for MNC 834, it is certainly close in both style and subject matter to one of the slabs in St. Germain-en-Laye, as Mrs. Brown pointed out,<sup>73</sup> and it may be tentatively assigned to the Soldiers' Tomb.

Of the eleven slabs, then, two are certainly from the Soldiers' Tomb, two more were probably found there, and with them perhaps a fifth, while the other six were definitely found elsewhere. Mrs. Brown's stylistic analysis of the slabs revealed "three distinct styles and a tendency toward a fourth"—a surprisingly large divergence of style, as she pointed out, to be found in a single tomb.<sup>74</sup> Now that six slabs have been dissociated from the tomb, however, those that remain are all of her Style II. The vases from the tomb include four dated hydriai, ranging from 250–239 B.C. If the slabs from the tomb are contemporary with these vases, they fall toward the end of the period that Mrs. Brown allotted to Style II on stylistic grounds. The remaining styles continue to depend on stylistic analysis for their chronology.

68. *PPM* pp. 14 ff.

69. See the list quoted above, p. 16, nos. 27 and 28.

70. A. J.-Reinach, "Les Galates dans l'art alexandrin" in *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910) p. 43, note 2. Reinach (*op. cit.* p. 50) and Paula Plaisier (*Recherches iconographiques sur quelques stèles grecques de l'époque hellénistique et romaine au Musée du Louvre* [Thesis submitted to l'Ecole du Louvre in 1964] p. 9) have pointed out that the provenance entered in the Louvre inventory, Mex-Gabbary, in the western necropolis of Alexandria, must be a mistake. The stelai no doubt all come from the eastern necropolis. (I am grateful to Mlle Plaisier for allowing me to consult her unpublished thesis.) The case of Louvre MNC 826 is particularly confused. The entry in the inventory is self-contradictory: "Hadra d'Alexandrie au lieu nommé Gabbari (quartier du port)." (This information I owe to Prof. Pierre Devambez.) The slab itself, which was not available at the time of writing, is probably of limestone like the others, and has an inscription cut in the architrave: 'Αρηστόδωμα Καλλήστω. It was identified by Reinach (*op. cit.* p. 44) with an inscription said by Neroutsos to have been found at Ramleh in 1875 (*RA* 10 [1887, 2] p. 212, no. 51 [= *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* p. 122, no. 51]; whence *SB* 2129). According to Neroutsos, however, this was a white marble stele, and the reading given by him is 'Αριστόδημος

*Καλλισθένους*. The Louvre slab is published in Brown, *PPM* pp. 26–27, no. 23, pl. 15, with a commentary on the inscription by C. Bradford Welles on p. 26, note 56. Prof. Welles doubted that the inscription was as old as the stele: "I believe that the rather banal inscription was added long after the original preparation of the stele, possibly replacing a faded dipinto on the same surface." If Reinach's identification is correct, we are faced either with an ancient recutting and a misreading by Neroutsos, or a modern recutting of the inscription he published, the text being garbled because the original dipinto was faint. A third possibility should not be ruled out, namely that MNC 826 is not the same stele as that published by Neroutsos, and that before its acquisition by the Louvre it was embellished with a modern version of a genuine text found some ten years previously.

71. See the list quoted above, pp. 15–16, nos. 25 and 26.

72. They are published by A. J.-Reinach in *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910) p. 43, note 2.

73. *PPM* p. 19.

74. *PPM* pp. 19–20.

# CATALOGUE

THE HYDRIA I with dated inscriptions are taken first, in chronological sequence. These inscriptions are in ink, with one exception where it was incised, and all were added to the vase after firing. The second group consists of hydriai with nondated ink inscriptions. In third place are hydriai that have incised inscriptions only. Unless otherwise stated, all inscriptions are in ink.

In the dated inscriptions the regnal year is expressed in alphabetic numerals preceded by the sign  $\perp$  or by the word "year" written out in full. The month and the day are sometimes added, the month usually according to the Macedonian calendar, but occasionally according to the Egyptian. In one case both calendars are used. The only essential detail is the name of the deceased, which may be given in either the genitive or the nominative case. The following may also be given: father's name, place of origin, title or office, name and title of the person who undertook the burial.

For the benefit of readers who do not have Greek the inscriptions have been translated where the text is reasonably complete and certain. The word *ἀγοραστής* has been transliterated rather than translated since its significance in this context is not precisely known. Its literal meaning is "buyer," and it was also used as the title of a house steward; it is not clear why an official so titled should be in charge of the burial of foreigners.

The problem has recently been discussed in detail by P. M. Fraser (*JEA* 39 [1953] p. 87, note 7), who

tentatively revived Merriam's suggestion that the word might be Theodotos's patronymic. This interpretation cannot be accepted, however, since the patronymic ought to have the definite article when the name of the son is itself in the genitive, while Theodotos consistently omits the article from his signature even when he follows the normal rule when writing the name and patronymic of the deceased. (Cf. *REG* 68 [1955] pp. 280–281, no. 261, where L. Robert also puts forward reasons against the use of the word as a personal name at this period.) The duties of Theodotos, moreover, need not be confined to the burial of foreigners. If he were an *agorastes* in the usual sense, he could have been responsible for the purchase of the cinerary urn, and might then have supervised the cremation of the corpse and the burial of the ashes as a simple extension of his normal duties. His readiness to do so could be explained by the complete lack of rings or other personal property in the vases that have been opened (cf. Appendix B): any such objects of value would no doubt become the perquisite of the *agorastes*. P. M. Fraser, with whom I have discussed this problem by correspondence, has rightly pointed out that this hypothesis does not explain why Theodotos alone designates himself in this way.

The G.R. numbers, given in parentheses after the accession numbers, are the inventory numbers originally assigned to these vases and are sometimes to be found in earlier publications. G.R. is an abbreviation for Greek and Roman.

# 1 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.47 (G.R.674). Plates I and VIII.

Exact provenance unknown. Dated April 9–May 8, 233 B.C.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 35.4 cm., diameter 21.3 cm., width with handles 28.0 cm.

Hydria different in shape and patternwork from the other Hadra vases in New York, as pointed out by Pagenstecher. The foot is low, with a groove near the top. The body is ovoid, with a pair of grooves at the level of the handles and another groove at the top where the shoulder is offset. The shoulder is steeper than usual, and has two ridges near the base of the neck, which is slender in proportion and flaring in shape. The side handles are round, the back handle wide and, except for a groove down the middle, flat; the groove is glazed, but otherwise all three handles are undecorated. On top of the lip are two concentric grooves; the top and edge of the lip are glazed. There is a glaze line at the base of the neck; rays between the ridges on the shoulder, and below them, lotus bud. Where the shoulder meets the body there is a broad band between two narrow lines; two more lines low on the body. Below the back handle, rudimentary rinceau. Glaze band on the upper part of the foot.

## INSCRIPTIONS

The principal inscription is underneath the foot.

⌊ ιδ' Ἀπελλαίου . α . αρ . .  
Θαρσυφᾶ[s]  
θεωρός Κρ[ήs]  
Ἀπολλων[ί]ο[s]  
διὰ Σα[ρ]απ[ί]ω[νος]

The first line is written around the circumference, ending with a few traces of letters after the name of the month. The rest of the inscription follows below (Merriam had put the date at the end, upside-down in relation to the preceding word). Fraser's conjecture that this inscription once had its fellow on the body is confirmed by traces of ink on the front of the vase.

The second inscription is incised on the shoulder.

ΖΑ

Fraser suggests that this may belong to a later re-use. For parallels for the form of the ζ see Parlasca in *JdI* 70 (1955) p. 148, note 121.

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stecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) pp. 406, 408, and pl. 9, no. 1. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1094. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* p. xvii, no. 15. *SB* 1643. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques* p. 250, note 8. Braunert in *JdI* 65/66 (1950–1951) p. 235, no. 10. Fraser in *JEA* 39 (1953) p. 87, note 1(a).

## TRANSLATION

Year 14, Apellaios . . . Tharsyphas, Member of the Sacred Embassy, a Cretan, of Apollonia; by Sarapion.

# 2 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.38 (G.R. 667) Figure 1, plates I and VIII.

From Hadra. Dated April–May, 227 B.C.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 46.2 cm., diameter 26.5 cm., width with handles 32.1 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, a row of dots. The panels of the handle zone are separated by saltire crosses; in the front panel, ivy branch over a reserved area that contains the first two lines of the larger inscription; in the back panel, rinceau.

## INSCRIPTIONS

The larger inscription is on the front. Letters no longer legible have been restored after Merriam.

[δ]ιὰ [Σ]α[ρ]απ[ί]ω[νο]ς[s]  
⌊ κ' Ἡγησίου  
τοῦ Ἀγλω[φ]άνου[s]  
Ἡγ

3. Ἀγλωφάνους: Ἀπολλωνιάτου Neroutsos. Braunert pointed out that the interpretation of this as an ethnic was untenable.

4. Not previously published. Perhaps an abbreviation for Ἡγ(ησί)οῦ or for Ἡγ(έμονος). For the latter, cf. σ φ on Cairo 26234 (Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 40); for the interpretation σ(ωματο)φυ(λάκων) see Edgar in *B. Arch. Alex.* 19 (1923) pp. 116–117.

The second inscription, previously unpublished, is at the right-hand side of the back panel of the handle zone. The letters are smaller and less distinct than those of the first inscription.

[Ἡγ]ησ[ί]ο[υ]  
[τ]οῦ Ἀγλω  
φάνου[s] Κείου  
⌊ κ' Ἀπ[ε]λ[λ]αίου

Both inscriptions refer to the same person, the smaller, which adds the ethnic, being perhaps a preliminary note for the other. The enjambment of the patronymic is unusual.

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#### TRANSLATIONS

By Sarapion; year 20; Hegesias son of Aglophanes. [Hegesias son of] Aglophanes of Keos; year 20, Apellaios.

### 3 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.5 (G.R. 664). Plates I and IX.

From Hadra. Dated December 15, 226 B.C.–  
January 13, 225 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 42.5 cm., diameter 26.9 cm., width with handles 32.6 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round, the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot is grooved near the bottom. On the shoulder, running dog. The panels of the handle zone are separated by saltire crosses; in each of the side and back panels, rinceau; in the front panel, astragal over ivy branch.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

The principal inscription is on the front, below the patternwork.

ἔτ<ο>υς ἐνὸς καὶ εἰκοστοῦ μηνὸς Λώιου  
διὰ Σαραπίωνος Ἱερωνίδης Λάμπωνος  
Φωκαεὺς ἀρχιθέωρος

1. ἔτ<ο>υς: actually ἔτις.
2. διὰ Σαραπίωνος: δι' Ἀρτέμωνος Neroutsos.

On the neck: *ET*.

Below the foot, in a monogram: ἀρχι(θέωρος).

Faint traces of ink, perhaps the remains of another inscription, can be seen on the inner side of the foot.

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#### TRANSLATION

In the twenty-first year, month of Loös; by Sarapion; Hieronides son of Lampon of Phocaea, Leader of the Sacred Embassy.

### 4 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.39 (G.R.668). Plates I and IX.

From Hadra. Dated December 8, 220 B.C.–January 6,  
219 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 42.7 cm., diameter 23.9 cm., width with handles 29.8 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, laurel wreath. In the front panel of the handle zone, ivy branch over rinceau; in the back panel, rinceau.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the front, immediately below the patternwork.

└ β' μηνὸς Πανήμου διὰ Θευδότου  
'Ανδροκλῆς Ἐπιγένους Φαλασάριος Κρής

1. Πανήμου: Πανδημου Pagenstecher, an unnecessary emendation (a misprint?); for the form cf. Callimachus, *Epigrammata* 46, 1, and New York 90.9.17 (see below, no. 7). [ἀγοραστοῦ] was added by Neroutsos at the end of the line.
2. Ἀνδροκλῆς: Ἀνδρόμης Merriam and Neroutsos, universally followed except by Pomtow, who conjectured Ἀνδρομ(έν)ης. The misreading probably arose because the inscription runs across an imperfectly smoothed throwing mark, and the upper oblique stroke of the

kappa is hard to discern. The form of the mu, occurring twice in the first line, is somewhat different. The name is attested for the third and early second centuries in Polyrrenia, about six miles from Phalasarna (*Inscriptiones Creticae* II, xxiii Praef. Hist., and 7 B 5; cf. 37, 39, and 52).

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#### TRANSLATION

Year 2, in the month of Panemos; by Theudotos; Androkles son of Epigenes, of Phalasarna, Crete.

5 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.6 (G.R. 665).  
Plates II and X.

From Hadra. Dated April 22, 219 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 42.7 cm., diameter 24.5 cm., width with handles 29.2 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round and set higher on the body than usual; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. At the edge of the shoulder, arches enclosing dots. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. The panels of the handle zone are separated by strips of cross-hatching; in the front panel, cross-hatching over running dog over dots; in the back panel, rinceau.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the back, below the patternwork, with the year sign aligned with the back handle.

└ γ' Δίου ιη'  
διὰ Θεοδότου  
ἀγοραστοῦ  
Θεώνδου  
Σαμόθρακος

1. ιη': [ι]ε Merriam; .ε' Neroutsos. The iota is faint but legible; the second letter not epsilon, normally written cursive by Theodotos. Traces of the right-hand stroke support the present reading.

2. Θεοδότου: Θευδότου Breccia; probably a misprint (cf. line 5), corrected by Fraser.

5. The iota is written adscript. Breccia's σαμοθραικός is perhaps a misprint.

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#### TRANSLATION

Year 3, Dios 18; by Theodotos, agorastes; Theondas of Samothrace.

6 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.46 (G.R. 672).  
Plates II and X.

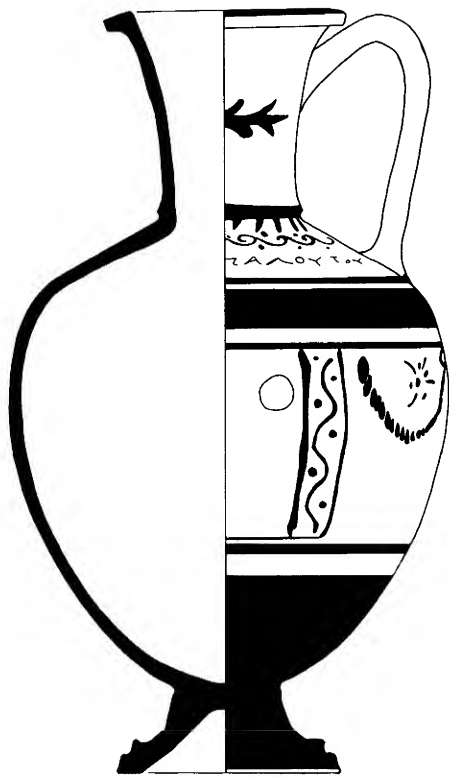
From Hadra. Dated July 2, 216 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 34.5 cm., diameter 20.0 cm.

As Pagenstecher observed, this is one of the few dated hydriai that do not belong to the Dropped Floor Class. The profile of the lip is straight, the top slightly convex. The neck is slender and flaring, and has an arris at the base. The shoulder is only slightly offset from the well-rounded body. The foot may have been thrown in one piece with the body, and was later carefully turned on the outside to produce a crisp profile; the underside is less carefully finished. The back handle is broad, somewhat concave on the outside; the side handles are broken, but enough remains to show that they were round.

The decoration is also distinctive. On the neck is a wreath. At the base of the neck a glaze line overlaps on to the top of the shoulder, where there is a row of vertical strokes over a sort of curvilinear meander with dots in the interstices. At the top of the body is a broad glaze band between two narrower bands, the lower of which forms the upper limit of the handle zone; another glaze band marks



the lower limit. The handle zone is divided into panels by wavy lines that have dots in the interstices and are flanked by straight lines. In the front panel, a palmette between dolphins; in the back panel, two garlands meeting at the handle, below which is a knotted ribbon. Above the garlands, dot-rosettes. The lower part of the body and almost the whole of the top of the foot are glazed. The underside of the foot and a narrow margin at the bottom of the outer profile are reserved.

#### INSCRIPTION

Incised on the reserved part of the shoulder, and divided by the back handle.

└ σ' Παχών κζ' Ἀρπάλου τοῦ | Ἀρσάμου ↑

└ σ': └ θ' Neroutsos.

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*Athen* 4<sup>o</sup>, VI [1957]) p. 61, note 6. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 8, Group F, 1.

#### TRANSLATION

Year 6, Pachon 27; Harpalos son of Arsamos; 900.

7 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.17 (G.R.669)  
Plates II and X.

Exact provenance unknown. Dated February 16, 215 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 47.9 cm., diameter 26.0 cm., width with handles 31.5 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot is grooved near the bottom. On the shoulder, arches. The panels of the handle zone are separated by strips of cross-hatching; in the front panel, ivy branch over rinceau; in the back panel, rinceau between half-palmettes.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the back, below the patternwork. Letters no longer legible have been restored after Merriam.

└ σ' Πανήμου κε'  
διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστοῦ  
'Α[ν]αξίλαου τοῦ  
'Αρι[στ]έος  
'Α[χ]αιοῦ ἀρχιθεώρου  
Δυμαίου

1. Πανήμου: Παναμου Merriam; the right-hand stroke of the eta is legible; on the form of the word see above, p. 21, no. 4.

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#### TRANSLATION

Year 6, Panemos 25; by Theodotos, agorastes; Anaxilaos son of Aristes of Achaea, Leader of the Sacred Embassy, of Dyme.



8 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.13 (G.R.687).  
Plates II and XI.

Exact provenance unknown. Dated March 24–April  
12, 213 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 46.9 cm., diameter 25.6 cm., width with handles  
29.9 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are  
round; the back handle has a central ridge and a cross-  
piece at the top. The foot is grooved near the bottom. On  
the shoulder, a row of buds, their leaves linked to form  
arches. The panels of the handle zone are separated by  
groups of five upright lines, two wavy alternating with  
three straight. In the front panel, running dog over  
branch; in the back panel, rinceau; in the side panels,  
looped fillets. The details of shape and patternwork  
connect this vase with 90.9.43; see above, p. 14,  
note 41 (iii).

#### INSCRIPTION

On the front, below the patternwork.

└ θ' Μεχέιρ  
Δαμο [ - - - ] Νεάρχου  
[θεωρ]ός Βοι[ώτιο]ς  
[διὰ Θε]οδότου ἀγοραστού

1. └ : only the horizontal stroke remains.

2. Δαμο[ - - - ]: Δαμ[ιας τοῦ] Merriam. Pomtow  
pointed out that this conjecture is unacceptable since the  
patronymic does not take the article when the given  
name is in the nominative (cf. Mayser, *Grammatik der  
griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II, 2, p. 7, 54, 2, a),  
and conjectured Δαμ[άριος]. Preisigke (*SB loc. cit.*) also  
doubted Merriam's reading, and conjectured Δαμ[άριος],  
Δάμ[αρχος]. The new reading with omicron suggests  
Δαμοκλῆς, already conjectured by Dittenberger (*OGIS  
loc. cit.*), or one of the other Boeotian names in Δαμο- (see  
*IG VII Index nominum* for examples).

Νεάρχου: Κ[λ]εάρχου Merriam. The initial Ν, though  
faint, is certain.

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note 2. P. Boesch, *Θεωρός* (1908) pp. 133–134. Pagen-  
stecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) pp. 407, 413, and pl. 12, no. 21.  
Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1094. Breccia, *Iscrizioni*  
p. xvi, no. 12. Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 37. *SB* 1641.  
Braunert in *JdI* 65/66 (1950–1951) p. 236, no. 24.  
Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 9, Group F, 8.

#### TRANSLATION

Year 9, Mecheir; Damo . . . son of Nearchos, Member  
of the Sacred Embassy, of Boeotia; by Theodotos,  
agorastes.

9 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.29 (G.R.669)  
Plates III and XI.

From Hadra. Dated May 19, 213 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 43.6 cm., diameter 24.9 cm., width with handles  
30.0 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are  
round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece  
at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near  
the bottom. On the shoulder, a double row of dots with  
a rosette at the front in the middle. In the front panel of  
the handle zone, a saltire cross of hatched strips with a  
rosette of four petals over the crossing; in each of the  
upper and lower triangles, two dot-rosettes; at the sides,  
straggly palmettes. In the back panel, rinceau. The  
patternwork is by the same hand as 90.9.18 (see below,  
no. 27). Part of the lip and neck is restored.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the front, below the patternwork.

└ θ' Ὑπερβερεταίου λ'  
Φαρμουθὶ ζ'  
Τιμασιθέου τοῦ  
Διονυσίου Ῥοδίου  
πρεσβευτοῦ  
διὰ Θεοδότου ἀγοραστού

1. λ' Merriam, noting that there is "a defect on the vase  
that makes the λ look like Α." α' Neroutsos.

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(1887, 2) pp. 63–64, no. 37 (= *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* pp.  
113–114, no. 37). Preuner in *Hermes* 29 (1894) p. 534,  
note 2. Wilcken in *GGA* 1895, p. 142. Strack in *Rh. M.*  
Neue Folge 53 (1898) pp. 412 ff. Wilhelm in *Classical  
Review* 13 (1899) p. 78. *OGIS* 36, note 2. Grenfell and Hunt,  
*Hibeh Papyri* I (1906) pp. 347–348. P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*  
(1908) pp. 133 and 136–138. Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13  
(1909) pp. 408, 414, and pl. 12, no. 22. Pomtow in *BphW* 30  
(1910) 1091 ff. A. J.-Reinach in *Mon. Piot* 18 (1910) p. 65,  
note 3. Breccia, *Iscrizioni* pp. xi ff., and xvi, no. 13.  
Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 37. Cavaignac in *BCH* 38

(1914) p. 15. *SB* 1642. Beloch in *APF* 7 (1924) pp. 171 ff. E. Meyer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der ersten Ptolemäer auf Grund der Papyri* (*APF Beiheft* 2 [1925]) pp. 37, 39, and 73. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* (2nd ed., 1927) IV, 2, pp. 495–496. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens* pp. 136 and 491. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles* pp. 132 ff. Frank in *APF* 11 (1935) p. 45. Kahrstedt in *Hermes* 72 (1937) p. 389, note 2 (for *JdI* read *AJA*). Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List in the Light of Recent Discoveries* pp. 123–126 (new collation of the disputed numeral in the first line). Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren* (*JdI Ergänzungsheft* 15 [1942]) p. 32. Braunert in *JdI* 65/66 (1950–1951) pp. 231 ff., no. 25. Fraser in *JEA* 39 (1953) p. 89, note 4; p. 90, note 1; p. 91, note 3; p. 93, note 3. A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte* 43 [1962]) p. 115, no. 7. Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 9, Group F, 9.

#### TRANSLATION

Year 9, Hyperberetaios 30, Pharmouthi 7; Timasitheos son of Dionysios of Rhodes, an Ambassador; by Theodotos, agorastes.

**10** ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.37 (G.R. 663).  
Plates III and XI.

From Hadra. Dated before February 14, 212 B.C.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 46.0 cm., diameter 25.9 cm., width with handles, as restored, 30.2 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles (one of which is restored) are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, a double row of dots with a circle around a cross at the front in the middle. In the front panel of the handle zone, running dog over cross-hatching over ivy; in the back panel, rinceau.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the front, below the patternwork.

└ θ' Σωτίων  
Κλέωνος  
Δελφός  
θεωρός τὰ  
Σωτήρια  
ἐπανγέλλων  
διὰ Θεοδότου  
ἀγοραστοῦ

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#### TRANSLATION

Year 9; Sotion son of Kleon of Delphi, Member of the Sacred Embassy announcing the Soteria; by Theodotos, agorastes.

**11** ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.41 (G.R. 677).  
Plates III and XI.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 44.7 cm., diameter 24.6 cm., width with handles 29.4 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has a central ridge. No crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, wavy lines between semicircles. The panels of the handle zone are separated by groups of five upright lines, two wavy alternating with three straight. In the front panel, ivy; in the back panel, rinceau between half palmettes; in the side panels, at the top, rows of dots. The body below the handle zone is divided into two sections by a pair of horizontal lines.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the front, below the patternwork.

└ - - - - -  
 - - αρχος φ  
 Γορτύνη[ος]

1. The vertical stroke of the year sign can be read, but the other remaining traces no longer support Merriam's reading  $\text{└ κε' μ]ηνός}$ , and this hydria is therefore to be withdrawn from the lists of dated Hadra vases.

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12 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.14 (G.R. 696).  
 Plates III and XII.

From Hadra.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 45.9 cm., diameter 24.8 cm., width with handles 30.6 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot is grooved near the bottom. On the shoulder, wavy line between rows of dots. The panels of the handle zone are separated by strips of cross-hatching; in the front panel, ivy between horizontal bands of cross-hatching, which join the cross-hatched dividers to make a complete frame. In the back panel, rinceau.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

The main inscription is on the front below the patternwork. The missing letters of the first line have been restored after Neroutsos.

Ἀπο[λ]λοδώρ[ο]υ  
 τοῦ Ἀ - - -  
 Μαρώνου

2. τοῦ Ἀνσίου Neroutsos.

The second inscription is below the foot.

παι  
 θε  
 μιδα

*Kaì Θεμίδα* Merriam, *Δεῖσαι Θεμίδα* Neroutsos, "Qu'on ait peur de la justice." There is no room for the first two letters of this reading, and Fraser has pointed out that *Θέμιδα* is not acceptable as the accusative of *Θέμις*.

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13 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.10 (G.R. 714).  
 Plates IV and XII.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height, as restored, 39.7 cm., diameter 24.4 cm., width with handles 30.5 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle and the neck are lost. The foot is grooved near the bottom. On the shoulder, a wavy dotted line with palmettes, rosettes and dot-rosettes in the interstices. The handle zone is divided into panels by upright laurel branches on the front and by saltire crosses on the back. In the front panel, palmette and floral pattern with rosettes; in the back panel, palmette and floral pattern (less ornate than on the front) with dot-rosettes; in the side panels, rosettes between sets of wavy lines.

#### INSCRIPTIONS

The principal inscription is on the front, below the patternwork; incomplete and very faint.

αισι[ο]υ  
 - - σ - - ισ  
 ε . . . νεῖθησ  
 - - σαρχας  
 - - ο - -

1. [Δ]αισίου (?) Merriam.

Below the foot, in a monogram. Not previously published.

Αρ

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# 14

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.42 (G.R. 692).  
Plates IV and XIII.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 42.0 cm., diameter 23.4 cm., width with handles 28.7 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, a wavy line with large dots in the lower interstices. The panels of the handle zone are separated by saltire crosses with several strokes on each arm; in the front panel, laurel branch over ivy over a row of dots; in the back panel, rinceau.

## INSCRIPTIONS

The first inscription is on the front, below the pattern-work.

- - - ἀγορασ[τοῦ]  
- - ὠνίδα - -  
- - - ιος - -

ἀγορασ . . . ὠνίδα Merriam; [ ] | [διὰ] ἀγορασ[τοῦ] | [Λε?] ὠνίδα Preisigke.

The second inscription is below the handle B/A.

- - ἀρχ - -  
- - ὠνω - -  
ἀγορασ[τ]οῦ

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(The first inscription only; the second is unpublished.)  
Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 24, no. 12. *SB* 1647.

# 15

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.16 (G.R. 698).  
Plates IV and XIII.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 45.9 cm., diameter 27.6 cm., width with handles 33.1 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round; the back handle is round and twisted, with a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. At the top of the shoulder, a row of short strokes; the rest of the shoulder is blank. The handle zone is divided into panels by ornate saltire crosses; in the front panel, laurel wreath over a blank

space, which is used for the inscription; in the back panel, rinceau.

## INSCRIPTION

. λεου . . ηχ . . ου  
κημ . . . .

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

None.

# 16

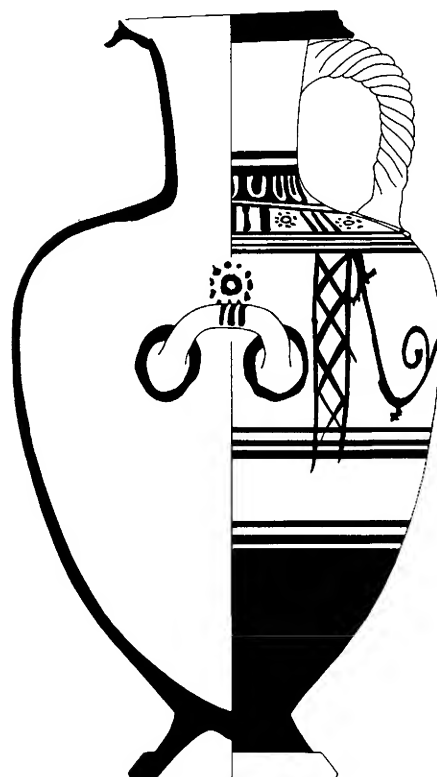
ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.32 (G.R. 689).  
Plates IV and XIII.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 46.7 cm., diameter 26.1 cm., width with handles 32.3 cm.

Hydria of distinctive shape and decoration, somewhat taller than the norm and slenderer in its proportions, with the body, shoulder, and neck not sharply offset from each other. The profile of the lip is concave, divided into two parts by a low ridge; the top of the lip slopes down to meet the inside of the neck, and has a groove just above the meeting point. The side handles are round, the back handle twisted; all three have low roundels



where they meet the body of the vase. The foot is a spreading disk below a rather low stem.

The top of the lip is decorated with rays, and the outside is glazed. The inside of the neck is glazed at the top. On the outside, the upper part of the neck is undecorated; at the bottom, overlapping the point where neck and shoulder meet, is a sort of debased ovolo. On the shoulder, groups of three lines alternate with dot-rosettes. The side handles are flanked by upright strips of cross-hatching, which divide the handle zone into panels: in the front panel, a guilloche over an arch pattern over an undecorated strip; in the back panel, a rinceau; over each handle, a dot-rosette. Below the handle zone, three glazed lines, an undecorated zone about 4 cm. wide, and two more glazed lines. From this point the body is glazed down to the top of the foot, of which the profile and underside are reserved. The glazing of the lower part of the body is an uncommon feature on Hadra vases (cf. Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 38).

#### INSCRIPTIONS

The first inscription is on the shoulder, written over the glaze lines so that only the tops and bottoms of the letters are visible.

Κλήμης Κα.ηνο. Ἀκαρν[άν].

Κλήμης Κασαν... (or Κλεαν...) Ἀκαρνάν Merriam; Κλήμης Κασαν[δ]πο[v] Ἀκαρνάν Pomtow.

The second inscription, previously unpublished, is on the neck.

AP

The same inscription is known to me on four other Hadra vases:

1. Tübingen inv. 5242. Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 189, pl. 14. Inscribed on the body (front panel of handle zone).
2. Cairo 26233. Watzinger, *AA* 1902, 159, no. 7. Edgar, *Greek Vases* p. 39, pl. 16. *SB* 2064. Inscribed on the shoulder.
3. Amsterdam inv. 931. *CVA* Scheurleer, I B pl. 16 (=Pays Bas pl. 64), 3-4. Inscribed on the neck, in a monogram.
4. New York market, 1964 (J. Eisenberg). Inscribed on the neck.

The first three examples, which I have not seen, were put together by Pagenstecher (*loc. cit.*), who suggested that the letters might indicate an index number, the name of the deceased, or an abbreviation of the name of the agorastes. In the case of the Cairo vase, Watzinger had already suggested that the inscription was an abbreviation for the name of the deceased. In view of the

number of examples, this can hardly be so. The form of the inscription on the Amsterdam hydria recalls the monogram *ap* under the foot of New York 90.9.10 (see above, p. 26, no. 13), and also *apxi* in a monogram under the foot of New York 90.9.5 (see above, p. 21, no. 3), where a comparison with the inscription on the body suggests that this is an abbreviation for *ἀρχιθέωρος*.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 24, no. 11. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. *SB* 1646. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques* pp. 205 and 1137.

17 ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.34 (G.R. 715).  
Plates V and XIV.

Exact provenance uncertain; formerly thought to come from the same tomb as Judge Farman's loculus slabs (see above, p. 13).

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 39.4 cm., diameter 25.4 cm., width with handles 32.0 cm.

Hydria with offset neck and low foot. The side handles are round, but are set rather low on the body and do not curl upward very much; the back handle is wide and ridged. The lip is concave in profile, glazed on the outside and top. On the neck, astragal between glazed lines; at the base of the neck, and between shoulder and body, glazed bands; on the shoulder, dolphins and rosettes. The panels of the handle zone are separated by groups of three upright lines; in the front panel, palmettes and fillets; in the back panel, laurel wreath. The handle zone is terminated below by two glazed lines; below this point the body, including the top of the foot, is glazed.

#### INSCRIPTION

Over the handle B/A.

Ἀντοεὶς Ἀλδωρίγου

Welles conjectured (*ap. Brown, PPM* p. 8, note 17) that the patronymic should be read Ἀλδωρίγου.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 40 (the number misprinted as 115). E. B. Stebbings, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* p. 113. Brown, *PPM* p. 8 (first publication of the inscription, whence:) *JEA* 45 (1959) p. 90, and *SEG* 18, 644 b.

#### TRANSLATION

Antoeis son of Dldorix (or Aldorix).

# 18

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.35 (G.R. 725).

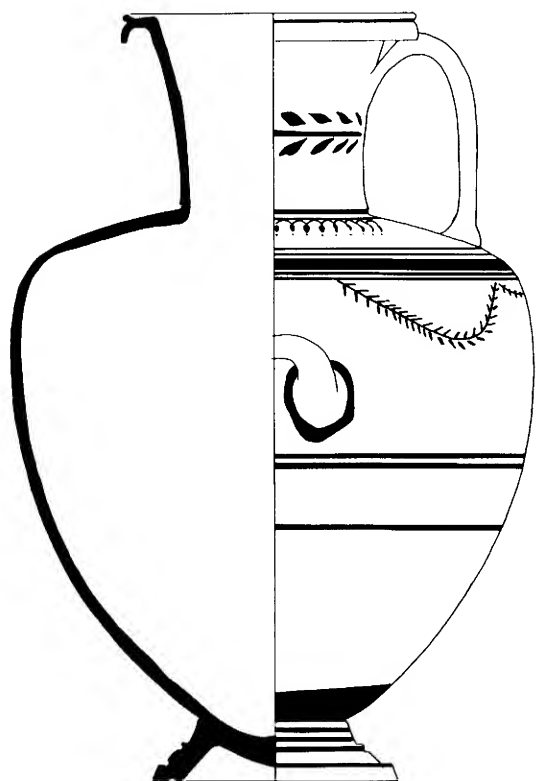
Plates V and XIV.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 36.7 cm., diameter 24.9 cm., width with handles 30.6 cm.

This hydria is different in shape from the Dropped Floor Class, and more elaborately finished. The shoulder is slightly offset from the body and clearly offset from the neck, the base of which is marked by an arris. The lip is hollow underneath and has a convex profile unequally divided into two parts by a groove. The side handles are round in section and curl upward; the back handle is flat with three rounded ridges, one down the middle and the other two at either edge. The foot was probably thrown in one piece with the body; it was later carefully turned on the outside, and has a groove around the standing surface. The decoration is also distinctive: the handle zone is not divided into panels; on the front, two fans and three wreaths alternating; on the back, a garland with three loops, the central loop secured by fillets. On the neck, laurel wreath; on the shoulder, an arch pattern with leaf-shaped pendants and white dots. White is also used for the fans and the leaves of the wreaths on the front, and for the fillets on the back. The lower part



of the body is unglazed except for a narrow band about 2.5 cm. below the handle zone, and a glazed zone about 1.5–2.0 cm. wide at the base. There are four glazed lines on the foot.

## INSCRIPTIONS

Over the left handle.

Ὀνε . σ . . . χου

Over the right handle.

Εὐαλλίου or perhaps Εὐαμίου

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 25, no. 14. Pagens-techer, *Sieglin* II, 3, pp. 45–46. *SB* 1649.

# 19

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.27 (G.R. 722).

Plates V and XIV.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 37.2 cm., diameter 24.0 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are round (one is broken); the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot, which is rather low in proportion, has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. The shoulder has a row of dots at the top and is otherwise blank. The panels of the handle zone are separated by saltire crosses with several strokes on each arm; in the front panel, laurel wreath; in the back panel, rinceau.

## INSCRIPTION

On the front, below the patternwork, in red.

ΚΥΔΙ

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 25, no. 17. *SB* 1652.

# 20

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.11.

Plate XIV.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height, as preserved, 5.5 cm.

Foot of a hydria of the Dropped Floor Class, formerly attached to 90.9.63 (G.R. 688), and removed as alien in

June 1963. There is a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom.

#### INSCRIPTION

Underneath the foot.

θσ

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Pagenstecher in *AJA* 13 (1909) p. 404, fig. 10, whence Guerrini, *Vasi di Hadra* p. 19 and pl. 10, Group F, 20 (the foot attached to 90.9.63). The inscription has not been published, and is to be added to Fraser's list of inscriptions below the feet of Hadra vases (*JEA* 39 [1953] p. 87, note 1) together with 90.9.10, here no. 13, and 90.9.50, here no. 21, the inscription of which is a graffito.

## 21

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.50 (G.R. 693).  
Plates V and XV.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 35.9 cm., diameter 24.3 cm., width with handles 29.5 cm.

Hydria related to the Dropped Floor Class: the neck, shoulder, body, and foot are less strongly articulated, but the extension of the inside of the body into the upper part of the foot is similar. The handles are broad and flat. The clay is coarser than usual, and the glaze has fired to a uniform reddish color. The shoulder is undecorated and is marked off from the body by a broad glazed band between two narrower lines. A pair of glazed lines mark the lower limit of the handle zone. The back panel, decorated only by a rudimentary rinceau below the handle, is bordered by upright strips of cross-hatching. The front panel lacks corresponding strips: an ivy branch runs from handle to handle. The lower part of the body is reserved; the top of the foot is glazed.

#### INSCRIPTION

Underneath the foot, incised after firing.

Κλεοῦς Κρήσης

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 26, no. 20. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. *SB* 1655.

#### TRANSLATION

Kleo of Crete.

## 22

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.60 (G.R. 703).  
Figure 2, plates VI and XV.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 38.6 cm., diameter 25.0 cm., width with handles 26.5 cm.

Hydria with polychrome decoration on white ground. For a description of the shape and technique, see above, p. 11. At the base of the neck, a row of dots with pendants; on the body, a bowl (of flowers?).

#### INSCRIPTION

On the shoulder, incised after firing through the white-wash into the terracotta.

Ἑρμοκλέους Χίου

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) pp. 19 and 26, no. 21. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. Pagenstecher, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 49, fig. 54. *SB* 1656. Launey, *Armées hellénistiques* pp. 234 and 1151. Brown, *PPM* pp. 62, no. 45, note 183 (new collation), and 66; pl. 36. Fraser in *JEA* 45 (1959) p. 91.

#### TRANSLATION

Hermokles of Chios.

## 23

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.30 (G.R. 671).  
Plates VI and XV.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 34.8 cm., diameter 22.5 cm., width with handles 28.8 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The handles are broad and flat, the side handles having a central groove. The foot is low in proportion, and has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. At the top of the shoulder, a row of dots. The panels of the handle zone are separated by strips of cross-hatching; in the front panel, laurel wreath over a blank area; in the back panel, rinceau. The side panels are blank. A pair of glaze lines form the lower limit of the handle zone.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the shoulder, incised after firing.

Εὐρόλοχος

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 26, no. 22. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. *SB* 1657.

## TRANSLATION

Eurolochos.

24

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.31 (G.R. 679).  
Plates VI and XVI.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 35.7 cm., diameter 24.2 cm., width with handles 30.0 cm.

Hydria related to the Dropped Floor Class. The foot is so low as to be hardly more than a ring base, but was evidently thrown in one piece with the body since the floor of the vase is dropped a little way into it. The clay is coarse, and the glaze has fired to a uniform dark red (cf. New York 90.9.50, here no. 21). The side and back handles are broad and flat. The patternwork consists chiefly of lines: one on top of the lip, another at the base of the neck, two above the handle zone, and two below it. The back panel, flanked by upright strips of cross-hatching, is otherwise undecorated; the front panel lacks the corresponding strips, and is decorated like the neck with two laurel branches. The edge of the lip, all three handles, the shoulder, and the lower part of the body are undecorated. The top of the foot is glazed.

## INSCRIPTION

On the shoulder, incised after firing.

Πάμφιλος

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 26, no. 26. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. *SB* 1661.

## TRANSLATION

Pamphilos.

25

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.9 (G.R. 713).  
Plates VI and XVI.

Exact provenance unknown; formerly thought to come from the same tomb as Judge Farman's loculus slabs (see above, p. 13).

## DESCRIPTION

Height 39.1 cm., diameter 25.0 cm., width with handles 31.0 cm.

Hydria distinguished by its shape and patternwork from the Dropped Floor Class: the neck is wider in proportion to its height; the base of the body, where it meets the foot, is also wide; the foot itself is low, and the floor of the vase is not dropped into it. The side handles are round, but the back handle is wide and almost flat. The handles are undecorated, as is the edge of the lip; on top of the lip, rays. At the base of the neck, a glazed line; four more at the edge of the shoulder. Below the handle zone, two broad bands separated and flanked by narrower lines. The lower part of the body is reserved, except for a band about 2 cm. wide immediately above the foot; the top of the foot is glazed, the profile and underside reserved. On the neck, a wreath; on the shoulder, thunderbolts and shields. The panels of the handle zone are separated by upright branches; in the back panel, branch and dot-rosettes; in the front panel, an ibex and Eros confronted between floral motifs.

## INSCRIPTION

On the shoulder, incised after firing.

Ἀπολλωνίου

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 20 (figurework only; Merriam seems to have overlooked the graffito). Pagentecher in *B. Arch. Alex.* 14 (1912) p. 236, pl. 15, fig. 8. *Id.*, *Sieglin* II, 3, p. 44. Swindler, *AP* fig. 562 (upper row, second from right). Brown, *PPM* p. 8 (first publication of the inscription, whence:) *JEA* 45 (1959) p. 90 and *SEG* 18, 644 a. E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* p. 160, note 242.

## TRANSLATION

Apollonios.

26

ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.33 (G.R. 694).  
Plates VII and XVI.

Exact provenance unknown.

## DESCRIPTION

Height 34.2 cm., diameter 24.1 cm., width with handles 30.0 cm.

Variant example of the Dropped Floor Class of hydriai; the body is more globular than usual, the back handle is twisted, and the foot is low. On the shoulder, ivy branch



below a row of dots; in the front panel of the handle zone, laurel wreath. The divider at the left of the back panel is an upright branch; the others are cross-hatched as usual.

#### INSCRIPTION

On the back, incised in large letters after firing.

*EYME*

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 27, no. 27. *SB* 1662.

**27** ACCESSION NUMBER 90.9.18 (G.R. 708).  
Plates VII and XVI.

Exact provenance unknown.

#### DESCRIPTION

Height 45.0 cm., diameter 25.3 cm., width with handles 30.2 cm.

Hydria of the Dropped Floor Class. The side handles are

round; the back handle has twin ridges and a crosspiece at the top. The foot has a reserved line, not grooved, near the bottom. On the shoulder, a double row of dots with a circle around a cross at the front in the middle. The panels of the handle zone are separated by strips of cross-hatching; in the front panel, saltire cross of hatched strips with a rosette of four petals over the crossing; in the upper and lower triangles, dot-rosettes; straggly palmettes at each side. In the back panel, rinceau. For the decoration cf. 90.9.29 (see above, p. 24, no. 9).

#### INSCRIPTION

In the front panel, at the left side of the lower triangle, incised after firing. Its authenticity was doubted by Merriam.

*Θευδότου*

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Merriam in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) p. 26, no. 24. Pomtow in *BphW* 30 (1910) 1095. *SB* 1659.

#### TRANSLATION

Theudotos.

## APPENDIX A

### Plate XVII

Another inscribed vase, distinguished from the Hadra vases both by its shape and by its unusual inscription, is appended here because it was found near Alexandria and was acquired from Judge Farman along with the others. It is an undecorated jar with two handles, accession number 90.9.2 (G.R. 707), height 34.8 cm., diameter 30.1 cm. It was once thought that this vase might be one of those found in the same tomb as Judge Farman's loculus slabs, but Mrs. Brown has already shown that "there is good reason to doubt" this suggested provenance. Since her publication, the vase has been cleaned and the inscription has been examined both in ultra-violet light and through an infra-red viewer. The infra-red examination added nothing significant to what could be read in ordinary light, but under ultra-violet light the inscription became strongly fluorescent. This was in marked contrast to the Hadra vases, where neither the infra-red nor the ultra-violet examination was particularly helpful. In this case, however, it was possible to make some additions to and emendations of the reading of the inscription by Mrs. Brown and Professor Welles. The conjectural reading "Αδωνις in the second line has been confirmed, preceded by Παφίης ό, while the names of Endymion, Selene, and Alkmene were also read. As a result of these readings the inscription can now be identified with one published by Neroutsos, whose text has been used to restore the letters no longer legible on the vase.

The inscription is on the shoulder in block letters, originally written in red but now very faded, except for a few letters at the end of the fourth line.

[Ἡρακ]λεῖ[δ]η[ς] ό [κα]λός [κ]εῖτ' ἐνθάδε  
 ὡς "Οσει[ρις] ἢ Παφίης ό "Αδωνις  
 ἢ Ἐνδυμίων ό Σελήνης  
 ἢ τῆς Ἀλκμήνης Ἡ[ρα]κλ[ῆ]ς δωδεκάε[θλ]ος πάντ[ω]ς.

"Here lies Herakleides the fair, like Osiris, or Aphrodite's Adonis, or Selene's Endymion, or Alkmene's son Herakles, a hero of twelve contests indeed."

Mrs. Brown's conjecture that this vase did not come from the same tomb as Farman's loculus slabs is confirmed by the statement of Neroutsos that the inscription was found early in 1880 in a rock-cut tomb near the sea behind the small mosque of Sidi-Gaber. This tomb had apparently been destroyed even before Neroutsos published his account of it, and I have been unable to find any other. According to Neroutsos it consisted of a single chamber, the ceiling slightly vaulted, with six loculi cut in the back wall; the left-hand wall was blank, but on the right-hand wall there were three inscriptions in red ocher, ours and two others side-by-side below it. Unless we are to suppose that the same inscription was written both on the wall and on our vase, it seems that this is another instance where Neroutsos's information is slightly garbled: the inscription was written not on the wall but on a vase found in one of the loculi. It is not clear whether the other two inscriptions were actually on the wall or were on other vases and have escaped notice or been lost. There can, however, be no doubt that this is the additional inscribed vase mentioned by Paine in his report to Cesnola. The inscription was dated in the Antonine period by Neroutsos, and in the third or second century B.C. by Welles.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Neroutsos in *RA* 10 (1887, 2) pp. 66 ff., no. 44 A (= *L'Antienne Alexandrie* pp. 116 ff., no. 44 A). *SB* 2134. Lumbroso in *B. Arch. Alex.* 18 (1921) pp. 10-11. Brown, *PPM* p. 8, note 19 (collated, without previous bibliography; whence:) *JE* 45 (1959) p. 90.

## APPENDIX B

WARSAW, October 31, 1893.

C. T. COOK, Esq.  
New York City.

MY DEAR SIR:

In accordance with your request, I now write you a statement relative to the sepulchral vases I recently sent you.

About a mile east of the walls of the present city of Alexandria, Egypt, are extensive mounds of debris, thirty to forty feet high. They are the accumulations of two thousand years, and filled throughout their entire depth with pieces of broken pottery. Under this debris, and nearly on a level with the sea, are large numbers of tombs of the earliest Alexandrian period,—about three centuries B.C.

These mounds have been extensively excavated to obtain, for building purposes, the cut stone of which the tombs are principally built, and such treasures of antiquity as might be found. The antiquities belong, by khedivial decree, to the government, but it is the universal custom of the laborers to conceal, and privately sell, whatever valuable objects they find. During the time I resided in Alexandria there were generally a few men engaged in excavating in some parts of these mounds.

Early in the year 1884, an old antiquarian, with whom I was well acquainted, came to my rooms and informed me that a tomb had been discovered containing a large number of vases and other objects, "great treasures," as he enthusiastically exclaimed. It was arranged that I should visit the tomb with him that night a little after sunset, when there would be no laborers near except the discoverer.

It was in a lonely, desolate spot, amid deep excavations and massive heaps of debris, that we found the fortunate laborer awaiting us near the tomb. In digging at the side, near the bottom, of one of these excavations thirty feet or more below the surface, he had struck a wall. Knowing it was a tomb, he quickly concealed the stone, and returned in the night, opened a small passage in the wall, viewed with great astonishment and pleasure the contents, and then closed the aperture and concealed it with earth and debris. It was in this condition when we arrived, but quickly reopened. It was simply a room, or vault about eight feet high, and as near as I can judge, not having made any measurements, fourteen feet square. In the center were standing, some on the top of others, about fifty funereal urns, or vases; and leaning against the walls were a considerable number of painted stelai, or tablets. The tablets were from a foot to two and a half feet high, and from ten to sixteen inches broad.

They were of light colored, fine-grained, calcareous stone, such as is found in the Mokattam Hills, a little above Cairo. The last faint redness of the departing twilight was disappearing as we were piloted out of these labyrinths of excavations to our waiting carriage, a half-mile distant.

Late in the following evening the contents of the tomb were brought to my rooms. None of the vases had yet been opened. They were tightly sealed by means of small shallow earthen cups, placed in their mouths, and filled with cement so as to cover the tops of the vases.

In some cases ornaments were placed on the cement in such manner as to give the appearance of bunches of leaves and clusters of grapes in blue, reddish and gold colors. I was present and saw them all opened. They contained nothing but ashes and small pieces of charred bones, the remains of the imperfect cremation of that period. Each vase probably contained what remained of a single person.

I brought the vases that were not broken and the more interesting stelai to New York. The latter are now in my collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Central Park. They have been photographed in colors by Mr. Bierstadt, and particularly described by Prof. A. C. Merriam, of Columbia College, in an article published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 3, page 261.

Two of the vases are those sent you. Mr. Moore, late of your company, had a number for his library, three are in the Metropolitan Museum, and the balance are at my home in Warsaw.

In the month of July previous to the finding of this tomb, a few rods distant from it, and on about the same level, was found a vase containing 208 silver coins, all belonging to the reign of the first Ptolemy,—Soter,—and the short time that he and Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned together.

This shows almost conclusively that the coins were buried about the year 283 B.C., the date of the death of Soter. Had they been buried at a later period, there would have been mixed with them coins of a later date.

I had the opportunity of their first examination, and selected and purchased something over forty of them, all that were not duplicates, and now have them in my collection.

Prof. Merriam, in the article I have mentioned, at page 267, in speaking of the contents of the tomb containing the vases and stelai, says:

"It is easy to see that the tombs in which these stelai were found are those of Greek mercenaries in the service of the Ptolemies and their families. The men represented in the painting are warriors, and the tombs are to the east of the city where the foreign garrison was placed. In this case, the deceased were Galatians, as we see from the inscriptions, and as the Galatian corps was especially numerous in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, this fact would seem to confirm the inference drawn from the coins as to the age of the tombs."

The Professor uses, in this paragraph, the word "tombs," but the vases and stelai were all found in one tomb.

From all of the facts it would appear that this tomb was devoted to the remains of officers of the Galatian corps, and that it dates from the time of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus,—B.C. 283 to B.C. 247; but probably not from the early part of his reign, for, if I remember correctly the history, the Gauls, or Galatians, (*Γαλάται*) as the Greeks called them, did not come to the Orient until some years later than the commencement of the reign of Philadelphus.

Sincerely yours,

E. E. FARMAN

## CONCORDANCE I

MMA accession numbers of the vases bought from Judge Farman in 1890, together with the catalogue numbers of the inscribed examples still in the Museum. An asterisk denotes the vases sold in 1928; their present location, if known, is added in parentheses.

90.9.1	(see p. 9, note 10)
90.9.2	(see Appendix A)
90.9.3*	(Sarasota)
90.9.4*	(Sarasota)
90.9.5	no. 3
90.9.6	no. 5
90.9.7	
90.9.8*	(Sarasota)
90.9.9	no. 25
90.9.10	no. 13
90.9.11	no. 20
90.9.12*	(New York, Iris C. Love)
90.9.13	no. 8
90.9.14	no. 12
90.9.15*	
90.9.16	no. 15
90.9.17	no. 7
90.9.18	no. 27
90.9.19*	(Princeton 52.75)
90.9.20*	
90.9.21*	
90.9.22*	(Sarasota)
90.9.23	
90.9.24	
90.9.25*	
90.9.26*	
90.9.27	no. 19
90.9.28	<i>vacat.</i>
90.9.29	no. 9
90.9.30	no. 23
90.9.31	no. 24
90.9.32	no. 16
90.9.33	no. 26
90.9.34	no. 17
90.9.35	no. 18
90.9.36*	(Sarasota)
90.9.37	no. 10
90.9.38	no. 2
90.9.39	no. 4
90.9.40	

90.9.41	no. 11
90.9.42	no. 14
90.9.43	(see p. 14, note 41 [iii])
90.9.44	
90.9.45*	(Raleigh, N. C., G. 56.35.4) —
90.9.46	no. 6
90.9.47	no. 1
90.9.48*	(Sarasota)
90.9.49	
90.9.50	no. 21
90.9.51*	(Sarasota)
90.9.52*	(Sarasota)
90.9.53*	
90.9.54	
90.9.55	
90.9.56*	(Sarasota)
90.9.57*	
90.9.58*	
90.9.59	
90.9.60	no. 22
90.9.61*	(Sarasota)
90.9.62*	(Sarasota)
90.9.63	(see no. 20)
90.9.64*	(Sarasota)
90.9.65	
90.9.66*	(Sarasota)
90.9.67	(see p. 9, note 10)
90.9.68*	
90.9.69	
90.9.70*	(Sarasota)
90.9.71*	
90.9.72*	
90.9.73*	(Sarasota)
90.9.74	

6. 90.9.37	
7. 90.9.47	
8. 90.9.38	
9. 90.9.5	
10. 90.9.14	
11. 90.9.32	
12. 90.9.42	
13. 90.9.10	
14. 90.9.35	
15. 90.9.41	
16. 90.9.26	Sold
17. 90.9.27	
18. 90.9.46	
19. 90.9.19	Sold. Now Princeton 52.75
20. 90.9.50	
21. 90.9.60	
22. 90.9.30	
23. 90.9.21	Sold.
24. 90.9.18	
25. 90.9.22	Sold. Now Sarasota
26. 90.9.31	
27. 90.9.33	

## CONCORDANCE III

T. D. Neroutsos "Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies dans la ville d'Alexandrie et aux environs. IV. Éleusis (Khâdrah)" in *RA* 10 (1887, 2) pp. 61 ff.; reprinted verbatim in T. D. Neroutsos, *L'Ancienne Alexandrie* (1888) pp. 110 ff.

## CONCORDANCE II

A. C. Merriam "Inscribed sepulchral vases from Alexandria" in *AJA* ser. I, 1 (1885) with MMA accession numbers.

1. 90.9.39
2. 90.9.6
3. 90.9.17
4. 90.9.13
5. 90.9.29

32. MMA 90.9.39
33. Cairo 26254
34. MMA 90.9.6
35. Cairo 26244
36. MMA 90.9.37
37. MMA 90.9.29
38. MMA 90.9.46
39. MMA 90.9.38
40. MMA 90.9.5
41. MMA 90.9.14
42. Cairo 26241
43. Cairo 26257(?)

## INDEX I

### Names of men and women

Ἀγλωφάνης	2
Ἀλδώριξ	17
Ἀναξίλαος	7
Ἀνδροκλῆς	4
Ἀντοεῖς	17
Ἀπολλόδωρος	12
Ἀπολλώνιος	25
Ἀρίστης	7
Ἀριστόδημος	p. 18, note 70
Ἄρπαλος	6
Ἄρσαμος	6
Δαμο . . .	8
Δάμων	p. 9, note 7
Διονύσιος	9
Δλδώριξ	17
Ἐπιγένης	4
Ἐρατωνίδας	p. 9, note 7
Ἐρμιοκλῆς	22
Εὐάλλιος	18
Εὐρόλοχος	23
Ἑγησίας	2
Ἑρακλείδης	Appendix A.
Θαρσύφας	1
Θεόδοτος, Θεύδοτος	4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 27
Θεόδωρος	p. 9, note 7
Θεώνδας	5
Ἱερωνίδης	3
Καλλισθένης	p. 18, note 70
Κα . . . ηνο . .	16
Κλεώ	21
Κλέων	10

Κλήμις	16
Λάμπων	3
Μένων	p. 8, note 7
Νέαρχος	8
Ὀνεσ . . . χος	18
Πάμφιλος	24
Σαραπίων	1, 2, 3, and p. 8, note 7
Σωτίων	10
Τιμασίθεος	9
. . . αρχος	11

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Ἀκαρνάν	16
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Ἀστυπαιαεὺς	p. 9, note 7
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Βοιώτιος	8
Γορτύνιος	11
Δελφός	10
Δυμαῖος	7
Κεῖος	2
Κρής, Κρήσσα	1, 4, and 21
Κυρήνιος	p. 8, note 7
Μάρωνος	12
Ῥόδιος	9
Σαμόθραξ	5
Φαλασάρμιος	4
Φωκαεὺς	3
Χῖος	22

# PLATES





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90.9.5



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PLATE I





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PLATE II



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PLATE III



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PLATE IV



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PLATE V



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PLATE VI



26

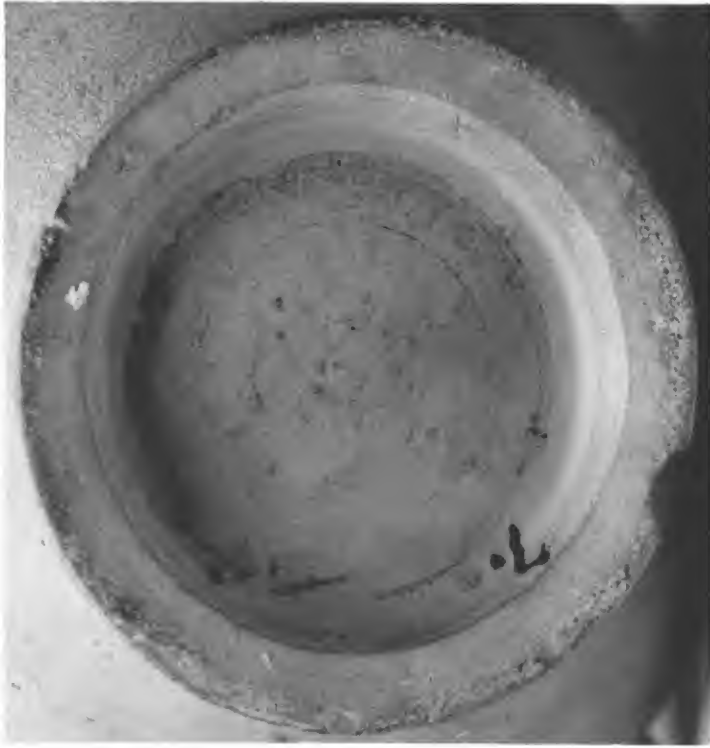
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2

# PLATE VIII



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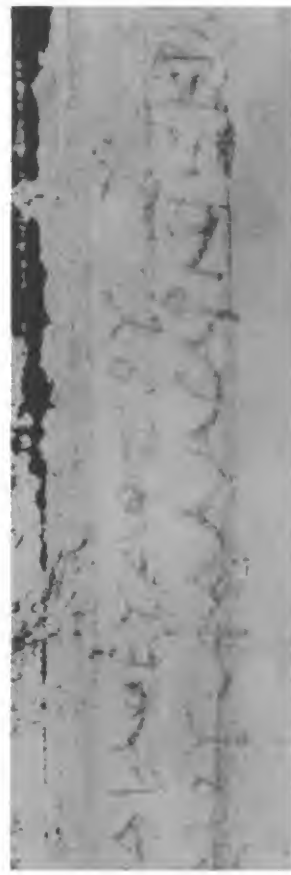
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# PLATE IX





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# PLATE XII



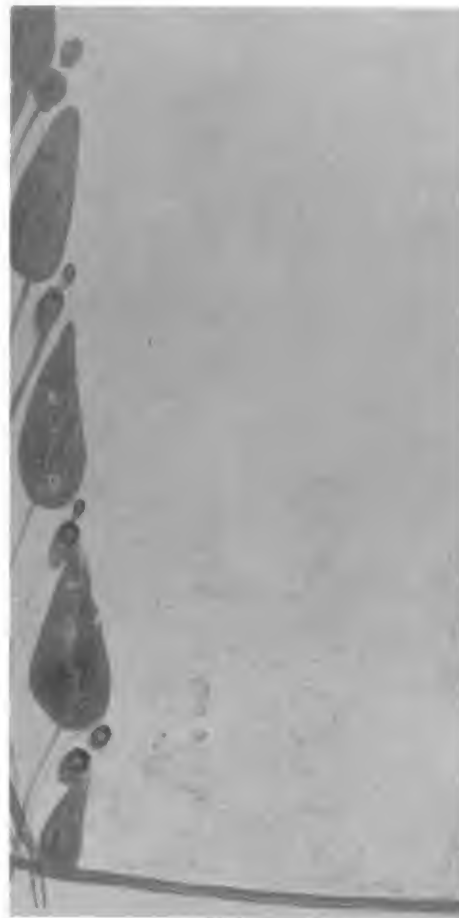
14

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# PLATE XIII



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# PLATE XIV



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PLATE XV





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26

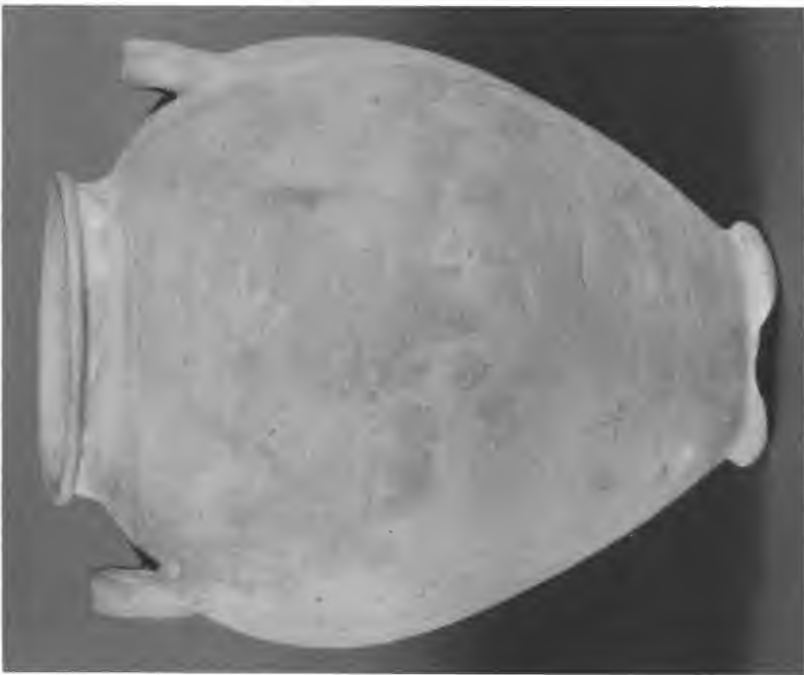
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# PLATE XVI



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Appendix A



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Appendix A



